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EDITORIAL

PERHAPS IN NO AREA OF CHURCH HISTORY HAVE THERE BEEN MORE conflicting interpretations than in that of Anabaptist history. In the past this has been due in part to inadequacy of information and research. It has perhaps also been due in part to the nature of Anabaptism itself. Certainly the Anabaptist-Mennonites belong to the Protestant wing of Christianity, but are they Protestants in the traditional sense of that term? If not, perhaps there is some foundation for the view sometimes expressed that Mennonites are neither Catholic nor Protestant. Certainly the simple faith of the Anabaptist-Mennonites, with its emphasis on the authority of the Scriptures and on obedience to the commands of Christ, the Son of God, is such that many would march them straight into the camp of the Fundamentalists. Careful study, however, would show that while historically the Anabaptist-Mennonites have adhered to the fundamentals of the Christian faith, they are nevertheless not "Fundamentalists," since the so-called Fundamentalists fail to recognize many fundamentals which have always been an essential part of Anabaptist faith and life. The Anabaptist emphasis on love and brotherhood, together with a disinclination to speak in technical theological terms, on the other hand, gives them something in common with the proponents of the modern so-called Social Gospel; and some writers have even seen the Anabaptists as the forerunners of Marx. Their emphasis on Biblical nonresistance has caused some to confuse Mennonitism with various forms of modern pacifism, with the result that it is sometimes thought of as a type of modern religious liberalism. But Mennonitism is not "Modernism" any more than it is "Fundamentalism." It is Biblical Christianity with emphasis on regeneration, on discipleship, on newness of life, and on nonresistance and brotherhood. The leading article in this issue on "The Encounter of Anabaptists and Mennonites with Anti-Trinitarians," by Robert Friedmann of Western Michigan College, is a most valuable contribution toward an adequate understanding of the relation of Anabaptism to other types of Christian faith and life.

"THE TRUE CHURCH OF GOD HAS BEEN A SUFFERING CHURCH AT ALL TIMES;" this is the basic conception of the Anabaptist theology of history. The path of the people of God through history is a path of passion: that is proved by the Bible itself." Tieleman J. Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror* provides considerable justification for this statement by Ethelbert Stauffer, a German Mennonite historian. The second article in this issue is a helpful study of the history of the *Martyrs' Mirror* by Gerald C. Studer, a young Mennonite minister of Orrville, Ohio.

IN THE PRESENT ISSUE OF THE "REVIEW" JOHN C. WENGER OF THE GOSHEN College faculty continues his translation of important Anabaptist sources with valuable editorial comments.

—G. F. H.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

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THE ENCOUNTER OF ANABAPTISTS AND MENNONITES WITH ANTI-TRINITARIANISM

Robert Friedmann

"Socinianism[1] was almost from its beginning a fusion of two different elements, the rational and the practical; the former deriving from Italian Humanism, and the latter from Anabaptist sources."[2] This sweeping statement by E. M. Wilbur, the foremost authority on Unitarianism, in his standard history of the denomination,[3] should give us ample reason to devote serious thought to the theological (and more than merely theological) issue of Anti-Trinitarianism in view of Mennonite thought and life. If Professor Wilbur is right—and his idea just quoted runs like a red thread through the entire book—then Mennonites should know it and react to it; if, however, the thesis is wrong, then it has to be refuted. And if the Unitarian historian should be partly right and partly wrong, then it is likewise our duty to define the correct border line between these two groups, and to formulate clearly the Mennonite position in view of this challenging contention of a close inner connection of the two movements. The following study proposes a fresh demarcation of this border line in the light of

[1] Socinianism is another term for Anti-Trinitarianism or, in the United States, Unitarianism. It is derived from the name of the leading spirit of the entire movement, Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604).

[2] E. M. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism; Socinianism and Its Antecedents* (Harvard University Press, 1946), 562.

[3] Professor of church history at the (Unitarian) Starr King School for the Ministry, at Berkeley, California.

Wilbur's new and comprehensive research. It is not the intention to present a general review of the book (whose reading, incidentally, is highly stimulating and thought-provoking), but rather to recheck and reconsider the statements, facts, and interpretations connected with this very pertinent subject.

Needless to say, this is not a new theme in Anabaptist-Mennonite scholarship. Both of the two first-named positions have found their defense and their refutation. Now with more and better established material at hand the subject ought to find its concluding formulation. Possibly the most radical interpreter of early Anabaptism as a form of theoretical Anti-Trinitarianism was the Jesuit scholar Stanislaus von Dunin-Borkowsky who in 1931 published a very scholarly study entitled *Untersuchungen zum Schrifttum der Unitarier vor Faustus Sozzini.*[4] Today, we know that his statements are gross exaggerations if not downright misinterpretations, thanks to John C. Wenger's inquiry into at least one rather conspicuous case of Dunin-Borkowsky's construction.[5] Unfortunately, however, this learned study continues to be quoted and to be accepted as authority. Other studies in about the same direction are the two books by the Unitarian minister F. L. Weiss on *Hans Denck* and *Ludwig Hetzer,*[5a] claiming that these two men of the early Reformation period represent the very link between Anabaptism and Unitarianism. E. Dosker in his *The Anabaptists in Holland* (1921) likewise pays considerable attention to an alleged Anti-Trinitarian undercurrent in early Dutch Mennonitism, playing high the episode of Adam Pastor, who was excommunicated in 1548. The same issue became somewhat blurred also among certain Mennonite scholars, for instance in the books by W. J. Kühler[6] in which he interprets Dutch Mennonitism in a rationalistic vein likening particularly the later period (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) to Socinianism, then widely accepted in the Netherlands.

On the other hand, we find an outstanding defense of the strict Mennonite position over against these controversial contentions in all the writings of John Horsch, beginning with his *Menno Simons* (1916) and ending with his *Mennonites of Europe*

[4] Published in *75 Jahre Stella Matutina* (Feldkirch, Austria, 1931), Vol. II, 103-147.

[5] John C. Wenger, "The Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," MENN. QUART. REV. (1938), 12:215ff.

[5a] F. L. Weiss, *The Life, Teachings and Works of Johannes Denck* (1924), and its companion, *The Life and Teachings of Ludwig Hetzer* (1930).

[6] W. J. Kühler, *Het Socinianisme in Nederland* (1912), and *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden in Nederland,* 2 vols. (Haarlem, 1932 and 1940).

(1942).[7] The same holds true for the different studies by John C. Wenger in which he contends that the theological position of the Anabaptist forefathers was as strictly Trinitarian as was that of any of the leading Protestant reformers.[8] Very fair and clear is also Christian Neff's article "Antitrinitarier" in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon*[9] though it is short, and, having been written before 1913, does not include all the material brought to light in the meantime.

We must not conclude this preliminary survey without mentioning the stimulating study by Professor Roland H. Bainton of Yale on "The Left Wing of the Reformation"[10] in which the terms "Anabaptism" and "Left Wing Reformation" are used almost synonymously, in either case meaning earnest Christians of the sixteenth century holding to a complete separation of state and church and to the building up of a church by voluntary membership of true believers. Adult baptism was the outward symbol of this general attitude. Naturally many a group which practiced adult baptism for the reasons mentioned above was nevertheless far away from the "Anabaptist Vision" of the Swiss Brethren and the Mennonite forefathers. It seems rather confusing to use the term "Anabaptism" in this wider sense because many readers do not take the pains to distinguish between the "evangelical Anabaptists" and other groups which also practiced adult baptism, while differing widely on other points. Let this be as it may, Bainton's statement in his study concerning the Anti-Trinitarian issue is very helpful in any case. He has this to say: "Anti-Trinitarianism was simply an aversion to speculation, first started even by Luther and Calvin. This movement cuts across all groups [of the Left Wing Reformation]." Somewhat later he calls it simply "the Left-Wing-theology." Inasmuch as evangelical Anabaptism was a Christian way of life rather than a new theology, such an "aversion to speculation" can actually be observed in its history;[11] it certainly has nothing to do with programmatic Anti-Trinitarianism. On the contrary, wherever the opportunity arose for doctrinal statements (at trials, disputations, etc.) the belief in the divine Trinity was openly con-

[7] See also John Horsch, "Faith of the Swiss Brethren," MENN. QUART. REV., IV (1930), and "Is Dr. Kühler's Conception of Early Dutch Anabaptism Historically Sound?" *ibid.*, VII (1933). A full bibliography of Horsch's work in MENN. QUART. REV. (1947), 21:205-228.

[8] See note 5, and *Glimpses of Mennonite History*, second edition (Scottdale, Pa., 1947), chapter XIII.

[9] *Menn. Lex.*, I (1913), 75, 76.

[10] Roland H. Bainton, "The Left Wing of the Reformation," *Journal of Religion*, XXI (1941), 124-134.

[11] That is, incidentally, the reason why a "theology of Anabaptism" is a problem rather than a ready-at-hand set of statements.

fessed by all Anabaptist brethren as we shall presently see. That the earliest confessions of faith[12] do not contain a statement to this end is understandable from their actual purpose of concentrating primarily on those points which should help to distinguish the new movement of primitive Christian discipleship from the predominantly theological state churches of Luther and Zwingli. Wilbur's claim that Anti-Trinitarianism "was the doctrinal ferment of the time" (p. 39) can hardly be maintained in this general formulation. This expression may describe various rationally minded seekers here and there, but it certainly does not characterize those who were striving for a more genuine Christian discipleship.

And here is the major reason why the term "Anabaptism" needs a much stricter definition than it has found in Bainton's analysis and in Wilbur's new history. This can perhaps best be illustrated by a passage where Wilbur discusses the origins of "the Anabaptist movement in Poland." Here he emphasizes that this movement (which was in fact consciously Anti-Trinitarian) had no connection with Western European Anabaptism. "Synods (in Poland) repeatedly condemned the Western type of Anabaptism with its revolutionary tendencies and its loose moral practices. . . ."[13] What is he talking about here? Is he making the same mistake that former Protestant church historians made when they saw a Münsterite in every Anabaptist brother? It almost seems so, as he continues: "The Polish Anabaptists regarded the term [Anabaptism] when applied to themselves as hostile and offensive [e.g. in a letter of 1565] and indignantly denied any association with the radical social movements in Germany and Holland."[14] That persons in the sixteenth century might have been misinformed is easily conceivable; a modern church historian, however, should have made this clear instead of repeating a generalization which, as he knows, is definitely wrong and which merely helps to confuse the issue. If it were true that Anabaptism was nothing but an outgrowth of the Münsterite disturbances, why then would Wilbur discuss the early Anabaptist movement of Western Europe at all as a background for his own story?

In order to straighten things out as far as posible with the insight which our present-day knowledge of Anabaptist-Mennonite history provides, we shall divide our analysis into the following

[12] Such as Michael Sattler's *Schleitheim Confession of Faith* of 1527, translated by John C. Wenger in MENN. QUART. REV., XIX (1945), 244-253.

[13] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 331.

[14] *Ibid.*, 331.

four sections: (a) early Anabaptism in South Germany and Austria (1525-1545); (b) early Mennonitism in Holland (mainly the Adam Pastor case); (c) some internal problems of the Mennonite Church in Holland during the seventeenth century; and (d) the encounter between the Hutterites in Moravia and the Polish Brethren (of the Minor Church) during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As can be easily seen the issue is a rather restricted one. That is, it never entered the area of the Swiss Brethren; it does not continue anywhere as a living concern beyond some rather marginal phenomena; and in the case of the Hutterites it is vehemently repudiated in a most impressive manner.

EARLY ANABAPTISTS AND THE ANTI-TRINITARIAN CONTROVERSY

To this subject Wilbur devotes an entire chapter of his book (pp. 19-39) and it must be acknowledged that he has taken great pains to be comprehensive and to found his statements on good authorities. If nevertheless we must strongly disagree with him it is one more proof that Anabaptist history is a poorly explored subject even to this day. Neither are the sources too well known, nor is their interpretation as yet beyond controversy. It is up to the collective effort of Mennonite research to improve this situation and to elucidate motives and principles of the movement as a whole. It is true that Wilbur admits at the very beginning of his chapter that in tracing the development of the doctrine of God among the free groups "we have to do not with the whole body of Anabaptists but with individual members of it only." Yet he continues to say that these men may stand as "signs of a widespread ferment of thought" which under favorable conditions one day will cohere into the Unitarian movement "of which these men were the earliest pioneers."[15] Here is the list of these men:[16] Martin Cellarius, Johannes Campanus, Hans Denck, Ludwig Hetzer, Johannes Bünderlin, Christian Entfelder, Jacob Kautz, Balthasar Hubmaier (inasmuch as he is claimed as the author of the *Nikolsburg Theses*), and Pilgram Marpeck.[17].

It is quite obvious that, with one notable exception, none of these men represent the Anabaptist position. They rather belong

[15] *Ibid.*, 32.

[16] Based in the main on the alleged findings of Dunin-Borkowsky (see note 4) who unfortunately had but increased the general confusion.

[17] References on all these men can best be found in the respective articles of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon.*

to the free group of "Spiritual Reformers" which Rufus M. Jones has so elucidatingly portrayed.[18] With Anabaptism they have very little in common, for Anabaptism is primarily not an anti-doctrinal, that is a "spiritual" movement, but rather a brotherhood movement based on a literal acceptance of the Scriptures. The men listed above never succeeded in collecting like-minded men into a *Gemeinde* (church), but remained consciously "spiritual individualists." That they were vague on doctrinal points must be granted, but apparently more so out of "aversion to speculation" than because of over-rationalization of the dogma. Rufus M. Jones discusses most of them as background for that kind of spiritual approach to the Divine which in England eventually led to the emergence of Quakerism. He certainly would not consider them as "pioneers of Unitarianism."

I do not propose to discuss all of these men in detail; anyone who knows the history of early Anabaptism will certainly not be confused regarding some statements in the writings of these early seekers. The 1520's were a time when the old form of Christianity (Catholicism) had definitely lost its hold on the alert seekers, and the new form (Protestantism) was not yet sufficiently consolidated and clarified to constrain everyone into the Lutheran or Zwinglian fold. Many a man, eager to understand the meaning of being a Christian, passed through manifold stages, from the Right to the Left. With the coming of the 1530's this process of uncertainty was almost over, and most of the so-called "spiritual reformers" had found a home in the official churches. Genuine Anabaptism, however, was by then becoming more concrete and more clearly defined than in the preceding decade. For these reasons most of the men in Wilbur's list do not belong into the present discussion at all, and I shall restrict myself here to three men only: Denck, Hubmaier, and Marpeck.

In the nineteenth century Hans Denck was occasionally considered as "the abbot or pope of the Anabaptists" (Heberle, 1851) or "the apostle of the Anabaptists" (Keller, 1882). Today, we no longer subscribe to this classification, in spite of the fact that Denck's tracts were widely read among Anabaptists and can still be found in many a Hutterite devotional book. John Horsch in

[18] Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1914). Also Ernst Troeltsch in his *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (1930) classifies most of them as "Spiritualisten" and not as Anabaptists. For the entire issue of classification and the stricter definition of Anabaptism, see R. Friedmann, "Concept of an Anabaptist," *Church History*, IX (1940), 341-365.

his *Mennonites in Europe* (1942) has made this rather clear.[18a] It is true that Denck's tract *Von der Wahren Liebe* (1527), in particular, was of great and wholesome influence upon all South German Anabaptists; in fact, one could call it a programmatic tract presented to the so-called Martyrs' Synod of Augsburg in 1527. But that does not imply that Denck became an outspoken Anabaptist leader. No church or brotherhood can claim him, and it is known that he died lonely in 1528, after having recanted his former "Anabaptist" position. Naturally Wilbur knows this and also admits that "it cannot be stated without reservation that he was an Anti-Trinitarian" (p. 28). But then he goes on quoting some oppositional sources (for instance, Urbanus Rhegius, the Lutheran predicant of Augsburg) from which he infers that there must have been some substance to this denunciation of Denck as an Anti-Trinitarian. And thus Wilbur concludes by saying: "It is probably not unfair to consider Denck as having been (even if not in a positive and aggressive sense) one of the pioneers of our movement" (p. 29). With so much factual information to the contrary a statement like this should never have occurred in a book of such high scholarly standard.

A few pages later we read this:

> The effect of views like these of Denck and Hetzer is seen in the publication at Nikolsburg in Moravia in 1527 of the so-called *Nikolsburg Theses* which were then proposed for discussion. The authorship of them was ascribed to Balthasar Hubmaier who belonged to the same circle as Denck and Hetzer. . . . Such views were calculated seriously to prejudice the Protestant cause in the eyes of the Christian world at large and . . . the Augsburg Confession (1530) takes the first opportunity to condemn all modern "Samosatens" who denied the Holy Trinity.

This is a serious indictment of Anabaptism, indeed, or rather would be if these contentions were correct. Fortunately it can be proved beyond a doubt that they are not. In 1938 W. Wiswedel published a very carefully documented paper entitled "Die Nikolsburger Artikel, ein Beithrag zur Täufergeschichte des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts,"[21] in which he convincingly demonstrates that these articles were not of Anabaptist origin at all, and have nothing to do with Hubmaier (a fact which had long been suspected).[22] It seems almost certain that these articles were forged in order to besmirch

18a John Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe* (Scottdale, Pa., 1942), 156-159.

19 Wilbur's references are Heberle (1855), and F. L. Weiss' book on Hetzer (1930). See note 5a.

20 Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 32.

21 *Zeitschrift für Bayrische Kirchengeschichte* (1938), 34-46.

22 Cf. Sachse, *Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe* (Berlin, 1912), 109-115.

the Anabaptists in the eyes of the Protestants in Germany, a deed most likely executed by the pugnacious Augsburg predicant, Urbanus Rhegius. Moreover, Wilbur is mistaken in assuming that the much-discussed damnation of the "Samosatenes" in the Lutheran Augsburg Confession of 1530 was directed against these articles. It seems fairly well established that they were aimed at Johannes Campanus, a man who can hardly be called an Anabaptist.

And thus only the case of Pilgram Marpeck remains, the recently much-studied South German Anabaptist leader, and author of the voluminous *Verantwortung* against Schwenckfeld, of 1542. Did he show Anti-Trinitarian leanings? Dunin-Borkowsky claims it[23] and Wilbur follows his lead. He has this to say of Marpeck: "While he tries to retain at least a shadow of the doctrine [of Trinitarianism] by employing the traditional terms, he uses the words in another sense than the current one though he calls no attention to the fact" (p. 39). Since Marpeck is the only one of the entire group who actually belonged to the Anabaptists, he deserves a more careful consideration in this connection. Here again all necessary spadework has been done by the extensive research of John C. Wenger. His "Theology of Pilgram Marpeck"[24] is convincing as well as enlightening with regard to Marpeck's doctrine of God. Wenger admits that Marpeck was not learned enough a theologian to differentiate between the "ontological and the economical concept of Trinity." Moreover, the New Testament writers themselves, not yet familiar with the term "Trinity," frequently use a language which could be construed as not clearly distinguishing between the Persons of the Godhead (p. 215). But then Wenger goes on to show the inaccuracies of Dunin-Borkowsky. In one case he failed to understand the grammatical construction of a Marpeck sentence; in another he completely misrepresented Marpeck's thought. To demonstrate this thought, it might suffice to present here just one quotation representing many similar ones. In discussing the Christological doctrines Marpeck has this to say on the Trinity: "It is necessary as well as comforting for Christians to have a fundamental knowledge, that is to believe in one eternal God, in three Persons or Names, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but one in essence." [25]

[23] Dunin-Borkowsky, *op. cit.* (See note 4), 110-112.

[24] See note 5.

[25] *Wir seind wol zefriden in Christo mit der rechten Zeugnus von der heyligen dreyfaltigkeit, und ist auch von nöten, auch trosthaft den rechten Christen, das sy des ain grundtlich erkantnus haben als zu glauben ain ainigen, ewigen Gott durch drey personen oder namen als Gott Vatter, Sun, und H. Geist, aber ain ainigs ain oder ainig göttlich wesen.* Wenger, *op. cit.*, 215.

Before concluding the first section of our discussion it seems appropriate to consider also the one particular case which seems to speak for Wilbur's thesis regarding a closer connection between Anabaptism and the Unitarian movement. It will be easily seen that it does not contradict our main contention that evangelical Anabaptism of the sixteenth century has nothing to do whatsoever with Anti-Trinitarian ideas. The particular case in question deals with happenings among the Reformation-minded Christians in Italy, in particular in and around Venice. Of them Wilbur rightly says this: "It was among these Northern Italian Anabaptists that a definite formulation of Unitarian doctrine was first adopted for purposes of propaganda."[26] Since at least two names of these Italian Anabaptists appear in the Hutterite *Chronicle*, it seems worth while to pay a certain attention to this frustrated and transient movement which was of "little if any historical influence."[27] Of these Italian Anabaptists, Wilbur says they seem to have been more concerned with the doctrinal phase of the Reformation than were their northern brethren, and at a Council at Venice, held in 1550, Anti-Trinitarian viewpoints were clearly formulated. It goes without saying that no connection of any kind existed between this group and those evangelical Anabaptists which are the forefathers of the Mennonites of today. Soon persecution set in in Italy and informers gave all possible hints to the Catholic Inquisition. Some suffered punishment, some recanted, some fled to Moravia and others to Turkey.[28] Still others tried to continue their way in greatest secrecy in their home country.

Among those who fled to Moravia some thirty men actually joined the Hutterite community and apparently changed their

[26] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 79, referring to the classical study by K. Benrath, *Wiedertäufer im Ventianischen um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1885).

[27] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 87.

[28] According to an old tradition (mentioned by Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 81), those brethren fleeing to Turkey settled in Thessalonica finding among the Turks "a safety not to be enjoyed as Christians among Christians." If that is true it solves an old enigma of Anabaptist history regarding those Anabaptists of Thessalonica who are mentioned in many places in Anabaptist records. Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror* has a long story about these men (1685, II, 415) and likewise the Hutterite *Chronicle* and Hymnal. A. J. F. Zieglschmid in a study in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (LIX, 1940, note 67) surmises some connections with the Athos monks, while others surmised in these men remnants of the Bulgarian Bogumiles. Now it seems to become clear that they were refugees from Venetia. The story goes that later on they visited the Hutterite colonies in Moravia, were kindly received, looked all around, but departed again without considering any closer association with the brotherhood. Nothing further was heard of them, and no record tells us their story. The very difficulty in their identification lies alone in the right dating. Van Braght places his records to the year 1540 while the Venetian affair would not come into the picture before 1550 or later. As far as I can judge, Van Braght's date seems to be arbitrary and might easily be interpreted as a mere guess. If so, then the connection of the Christians in Thessalonica with the Venetian Anabaptists would be by far the best conjecture.

mind with regard to their former doctrinal ideas. Otherwise they would not have been received into the community. "It was from these [thirty] that [Francesco]della Saga [of Rovigo; Francesco di Rovigo] and [Guilio di Treviso or Guilio] Gherlandi were sent back in 1559 to convert to more orthodox views the surviving radical [Unitarian] brethren of whom no further knowledge has been preserved to us."[29] Gherlandi was put to death at Venice in 1562, Della Saga likewise in 1565. Of the latter the Hutterite Brethren still preserve several extensive epistles, one of which (as yet unpublished) is particularly moving and profound. Not the slightest trace of Anti-Trinitarianism can be found in these epistles; they are genuinely "Hutterite." With these martyrs the episode of the Venetian Anabaptists comes to an end.

THE DUTCH MENNONITES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE ADAM PASTOR CASE

It is much to the credit of the Mennonites in Holland that the searching eyes of a Unitarian historian, keenly conditioned to discover even the slightest traces of rationalistic theology, could not find much material in the history of this branch of Anabaptism during the sixteenth century. In his chapter "Anti-Trinitarian Anabaptists in Holland" (pp. 40-48) Wilbur discusses in the main but two individuals known to have cherished radical viewpoints in theology, namely, Adam Pastor, at one time an elder or bishop in Menno Simons' own church, and David Joris, the fanciful prophet with a brand of Christianity all his own. Although Joris was baptized by Obbe Philips, he soon broke away from sober Anabaptism, declining the Scriptural principle as well as adult baptism, and became a mystic and prophet. For that reason he can hardly be called an Anabaptist any longer, and therefore does not enter into our present discussion.

Thus Adam Pastor remains as the sole witness to the thesis that Unitarianism has at least one root in Mennonitism. What can be said to this point? True, Adam Pastor championed certain radical viewpoints in theology, being strictly opposed to what Menno Simons and his followers believed in. Accordingly Pastor was excommunicated by Dirk Philips in 1547/48. Menno Simons is said to have later regretted this act.[30] But John Horsch, who in

[29] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 87.

[30] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 42, says: Menno himself lived to regret this treatment." It is not clear where Wilbur takes his statement from, most likely from Dunin-Borkowsky to whom Pastor is the crown witness against everything Anabaptist.

his *Menno Simons* (1916) carefully examined the references, does not find any foundation of such a contention. "It is inconceivable," he writes, "that Menno should not have recognized an excommunication announced by his co-laborer Philips."[31] Wilbur thinks very highly of Pastor; to him he was "the most brilliant man and scholar among the Dutch Anabaptists of his time, one of the two chief leaders of their movement, liberal, fearless, devout, the first real Unitarian in Europe."[31a] It is not quite clear on what authority our author bases this judgment. According to another source[32] Pastor had but a small number of followers, and these Pastorites must have had a rather short-lived and insignificant history. What should we then think of the two following statements of Wilbur in connection with his appraisal of the Adam Pastor case? "[Adam Pastor's] significance lies in the fact that he represented and defended the Unitarian tendencies of Anabaptism in northwestern Germany at a time when all the other leaders of the movement there had in general *re-adopted* the orthodox view."[33]

One wonders what this term "re-adoption" means in this connection. We never hear of leaders who had given up their view, with the one exception of Adam Pastor. And then we read: "At all events the later Socinians claimed that he [Pastor] was the first to teach their doctrines in the Low Countries, and he certainly prepared the way for Socinianism there, especially among the Mennonites."[33a] Can this statement be upheld? Did he "certainly prepare the way"? Since the tendencies toward Socinianism among Mennonites in Holland did not appear prior to about 1650, it is not likely that one single individual, one hundred years earlier, was of any influence worth mentioning. That he was the first to teach such views in the States General, on the other hand, seems to be correct. His small success indicates that the time had not yet come for theological rationalism and its consequences. And Wilbur knows this all too well. In concluding his chapter, and the entire background history of his subject, he expressly states it as follows:

> The persons [here reviewed] represent phases of that broad and vague movement known as Anabaptism and include most of the leaders of its thought during the first eventful generation. . . . They agree substantially in this: that they all departed from the historical doctrines of the Trinity,

31 John Horsch, *Menno Simons* (Scottdale, 1916), 198.
31a Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 41.
32 *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica,* VII, 520.
33 Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 42. Italics ours.
33a *Ibid.*, 42.

some of them still keeping the old terms but using them in a new and unauthorized sense,[33b] some virtually ignoring these doctrines, and some rejecting or denying them outright. . . . There is no warrant, however, for considering these men doctrinally as pioneers of the general movement [of Unitarianism] in the sense that this movement was the direct outcome of their teaching. The contrary is the case. Their significance in this history is rather this: that they bear witness that in a large and influential minority of the Protestant world in its first generation there were great numbers on whom the doctrines named had lost their hold. . . . In this respect these *liberal Anabaptists* [italics ours] took a long step toward realization of the principles [of Unitarianism].[34]

Enough has been said and further comments seem not to be necessary. That Mennonite historians in general would not subscribe to these formulations is fairly certain. That a few Dutch scholars think differently, however, shall not be denied. Interpretation in history has always been a matter of stark disagreement.[35]

DEVELOPMENT OF MENNONITISM IN HOLLAND DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Mennonites in Holland were, no doubt, more broad-minded and world-open in general than any other group of the great Anabaptist family. From the standpoint of, let us say, the Swiss Brethren they must even be called "liberals." And yet, even these "liberals" behaved in a rather orthodox fashion when confronted with true liberals, namely, Unitarians or Socinians. Hans de Ries, the leading spirit among the Waterlanders (the more progressive branch of Dutch Mennonitism,) became a chief opponent to the Unitarians in the Netherlands. When the Socinian Christopher Ostorodt, minister of the Unitarian church of Smigiel, Poland, visited him in 1598, De Ries took the viewpoint that he could not see at all the advisability of a union of his (Waterlander) church with the Socinians, in spite of certain points of contact. Moreover, such a union seemed to him altogether impossible. J. S. S. Ballot in his standard biography of Hans de Ries[36] goes on reporting that Ries raised his objections against any closer dealings with the Polish Brethren on the ground that these Brethren "de Eere Christi grootelijcks verkleynden, daer over hij seer jaloers was."[37] Soon hereafter he wrote a refutation of the Socinian

[33b] See above, the discussion of Pilgram Marpeck.

[34] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 47, 48.

[35] Cf. John Horsch, "Is Dr. Kühler's Conception of Early Dutch Anabaptism Historically Sound?" MENN. QUART. REV., VII (1933).

[36] *Doopsgezinden Bijdragen*, IV (1864), 38.

[37] Translation: "that the brethren grossly reduced the glory of Christ, a point upon which he was most jealous." Hans de Ries, *Ontdeckinghe der dwalingen*, etc., 1627.

position under the title, *Klaer Bewijs van de Eeuwigheydt ende Godtheydt Jesu Christi* (published posthumously in 1672). Wilbur tells this story in a somewhat different way, following in the main J. C. van Slee, *Geschiedenis van het Socinianisme in de Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1914). "On the way, they [Ostorodt and his companion Vojdovsky] visited Hans de Ries, an influential Mennonite preacher at Alkmaar. There were doubtless opportunities enough as they [the two missioners] went to find sympathetic points of contact with Mennonites whose viewpoints as to baptism and nonresistance would bring them together."[38]

What should be the final judgment on a controversy presented in two so widely diverging interpretations? The answer might best be found in the second volume of J. W. Kühler's *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden in Nederland,*[39] a book certainly in sympathy with many traits of rational theology, and yet loyal to the Mennonite case as the author understands it. According to Kühler's interpretation, De Ries' opposition to Socinianism lies primarily in the "undeniably spiritualistic" tendencies of his Christianity. "The Socinians, however, were far away from any kind of mysticism. And it was just this mysticism which made up the core of De Ries' devotional life. Moreover, the idea of a Christian discipleship *(Nachfolge)* was bound to wither away in the cool and sober atmosphere of the Socinian teachings concerning the person of Jesus."[39a] This is a most valuable angle indeed in the discussion which helps us understand why Socinianism at first had so little chance to succeed among the Mennonites of Holland. Wilbur, who in general is not too much given to the study of ideological distinctions, presents a rather different explanation. To him the disagreement rooted not so much in doctrinal matters, but rather in a concern of the Mennonite congregations not to fall further into disfavor with the Dutch government. Therefore "it was not advisable to make their case yet worse by an alliance with the Socinians."[40] This argument does not sound too convincing to the

[38] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 539, 540.

[39] J. W. Kühler, *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden in Nederland.* (v. I) : *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden in de zestiende eeuw* [History of the Dutch Mennonites in the sixteenth century], Haarlem, 1932; (v. II:) *Geschiedenis,* etc. *Tweede deel, 1600-1735, eerste helft* [1600-1650], Haarlem, 1940. Wilbur mentions only the second volume and not the first one although it contains a wealth of information on our subject. I also missed in Wilbur's bibliography W. J. Van Douwen, *Socinianem en Doopsgezinden, 1559-1626* (Leiden, 1898), most valuable although somewhat older. It contains original research material from the Amsterdam Doopsgezinden Archive. Copy in Goshen College Library.

[39a] Kühler, *op. cit.*, v. II, 52.

[40] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 560.

historian of Anabaptism. Mennonites have withstood greater dangers than this without becoming disloyal to their conscience.[41]

With the episode of the De Ries-Ostorodt conversation the history of our controversy during the sixteenth century comes to a close. It was the century of the "fathers" and it witnessed the rise of a church of earnest Christians into its finest flowering. The picture changes somewhat, however, as time goes on. By the middle of the seventeenth century the general trend in spiritual affairs all over Europe, and particularly in the prosperous Netherlands, points toward the new mood of Rationalism; Descartes and Spinoza might be taken as its most outstanding representatives. It is obvious that this rationalistic current was particularly well suited toward an assimilation of Socinian ideas in the religious life of the well-settled burghers of the Low Countries. The Mennonites were here no exception any longer. They, too, fell prey to this general trend, at least in part. And it is here where Wilbur's research offers its most valuable contributions in our field, mainly because it continues where Kühler's second volume breaks off.[42]

While Anabaptism in Germany turned more and more toward a pietistic emotionalism, the Dutch Mennonites became rather imbued with the spirit of Socinian rationalism.[43] The spiritual fire of the first century had died away and the Mennonite Church had become a "respectable" institution. To connect this new trend, however, with an alleged "strong undercurrent of Anti-Trinitarian doctrines among the Anabaptists in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century"[44] is without any foundation as far as sources go. To make the Adam Pastor case in particular responsible for the new turn is in no way warranted. No link is known between the seventeenth-century development and this isolated case one hundred years earlier; it had been an affair which in itself was not too significant and which must have died out around 1565.

[41] By 1626, both the Waterlanders and the Flemish branch of the Mennonite Church had clearly condemned the Socinian teachings. Both groups drew up new Confessions of Faith, the Waterlander confession in conformity with De Ries' viewpoints (Kühler, v. II, 167), while the Flemish document became known as the confession of Jaques Outermans (Kühler, v. II, 180). These two confessions represent the doctrinal conclusion of the formative years of Dutch Mennonitism.

[42] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, chapter XLIII, "Socinianism Among the Mennonites and Collegiants," 560-570. The premature death of J. W. Kühler made the continuation of his history beyond 1650 impossible. Wilbur's main sources for the later seventeenth century are J. C. Van Slee's above-mentioned book and J. W. Kühler, *Het Socinianisme in Nederland* (1912).

[43] Only the Swiss Brethren in Switzerland and South Germany (including Alsace), and the Hutterites in Slovakia and Transylvania, withstood the ideological temptations of their surroundings and kept up their old strictness in faith and life.

[44] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 560.

By 1660, the outstanding Dutch Mennonite preacher and physician, Galenus Abrahamsz de Haan,[45] became the center of a serious schism. Was he a new Adam Pastor? Hardly, as he was cleared by the court of the city council of Amsterdam of the charge of Socinianism, and declared to be a good Mennonite.[46] Yet, it cannot be denied that the cleavage in the church in Amsterdam which arose at that time was one of the most critical crises the church ever went through, and it required about one hundred and forty years for the church to become united again (1664-1801). Of Galenus de Haan could be said what we noticed of the earliest brethren, namely, that he laid little emphasis upon doctrinal formulations in general, but was more interested in spiritual warmth and the right conduct. And yet, he was no longer of the old Mennonite type. Was he a Pietist? C. B. Hylkema in his article in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* claims that he started new congregations which became centers of an enlightened though somewhat pietistically tinged devotional life.[46a] But this is certainly not the whole picture and would not alone explain the unfortunate schism among the Dutch Mennonites which started with the so-called *Lammeren-Krieg*. De Haan was accused of "rational" leanings (which does not exclude emotional warmth), and it is reported that he once said to a friend, half facetiously and half in earnest, that they caught in him "a real Socinian." Most likely it was an exaggeration. But the free spirit of the *Rynsburger Collegiants* had certainly penetrated the Mennonite Church by and large, and changed its spirit to a high degree.

Wilbur's presentation here is to the point. No doubt the practical, and at the same time rational, element of Socinianism made a noticeable impression upon the Mennonite Church in the second half of the seventeenth century, and has left clearly discernible traces up to the present day. It was in the progressive Rynsburger Collegiants that Mennonites and Socinians met for a free exchange of viewpoints.[47] And it seems to be a fact that the largest number of Collegiants came from Mennonite background just as more than one hundred years later, in 1787, when the Collegiants ceased to exist, most of their members joined the Mennonite Church. "Collegiants were the effective agency through which Socinianism permeated the Mennonite body" (p. 567). When persecution

[45] *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, 26-39, articles by C. B. Hylkema.

[46] Wilbur, *op. cit.,* 561.

[46a] C. B. Hylkema in *Menn. Lex.,* II, 28. Cf. also R. Friedmann, "Spiritual Changes in European Mennonitism," MENN. QUART. REV., XV (1941), 36.

[47] Wilbur, *op. cit.,* 563-565.

grew in Poland, many Unitarian stragglers, seeking a new home and freedom of faith, came to tolerant Holland, joined the Collegiants, and were also admitted "without question as to their doctrinal belief" to the services of the Mennonites (568). Wilbur sees the picture as follows: "They felt their *affinity* with the Mennonites, despite any differences in belief. It was quite unfair to accuse the whole body of either Collegiants or Mennonites of being Socinians, but it is not too much to say that about 1660 a Socinian tendency was evident among individual Dutch Mennonites in all parts of the country.[48] The difference was curiously enough not as to doctrines but that the [Polish] Socinians lived a more disciplined life than others, were austere in their morals, and gave themselves much to prayer, fasting, and almsgiving."[49] A few pages later Wilbur sums up his findings by this statement: "The affinity of the Socinians in Holland was on the intellectual and social side more with the Remonstrants, and on the practical side more with the Mennonites."[50] This seems to be a fairly correct representation of the situation in Holland around 1700.

That it continued during the following eighteenth century should be no surprise to the student of history. The case of the outstanding Mennonite preacher Johannes Stinstra of Harlingen, Friesland, is a well-known example in case. In 1742 he was suspended from his pulpit for his Socinian leanings and was not readmitted until fifteen years later.[51] The fact, however, should be stressed that his and similar cases had to do with single individuals of digressing viewpoints while the church as a whole opposed these tendencies and acted accordingly. And this situation remains more or less up to the present time. There is a conservative and stricter wing among Dutch Mennonites on the one hand, and a more rational and progressive one on the other hand, both united since 1801 in the Algemeene Doopsgezinde Societeit.

THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE HUTTERITES IN MORAVIA AND THE POLISH BRETHREN

This is a remarkable story which has almost completely escaped the attention of Mennonite historians. One feels indebted

[48] Kühler, *Het Socinianisme in Nederland* (1912), 174.

[49] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 568, referring to Kühler, *Het Soc.*, 195; and Blaupot Ten Cate, Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Holland (1847), II, 173.

[50] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 585; Van Slee, *Geschiedenis van het Socinianisme in de nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1914), 197ff.

[51] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 562.

to Wilbur's research[52] which sheds some new light upon this important part of Hutterite history.[53] To be sure, the great Hutterite *Chronicle* contains a lengthy and attractive section reporting part of the story as the brethren saw it,[54] but it is by no means complete, and above all needs much interpretation. Unfortunately, the discussion in Wilbur's book is also far from complete, and all too brief to reveal the full picture.[55] His use of important and hitherto almost unnoticed Polish literature on this Hutterite-Socinian encounter should certainly be much appreciated.[56] But even so, at least one very enlightening publication on the subject escaped his attention altogether, thus justifying the present attempt to reconstruct briefly the entire story as far as possible with the present state of our knowledge. It is here where a genuine enrichment of our knowledge of Anabaptist history can be achieved.

Three times did the Polish Brethren contact the Hutterite communities in Moravia, and three times did this attempt at coming to a mutual understanding and, if possible, to an inner fusion, fail; and necessarily so, as we might add. This took place firstly, in the years 1568-1570, then again in 1590 or thereabout, and finally in 1608 or 1609. The *Chronicle* as well as Wilbur knows only the story of the first attempt, depicting it from either angle; while of the second and third approach we learn only through a study by Theodor Wotschke, entitled *Ein dogmatisches Sendschreiben des Unitariers Ostorodt.*[57] The major motive of these approaches was apparently an eagerness on the part of the Polish Brethren to learn whether living in community of goods is possible at all, and how it works out. One should not forget that these Polish Brethren were rather strict, lived puritanically, practiced adult baptism and frequent communion services, accepted nonresistance, considered the introduction of community of goods, and were certainly no "liberals," if for the moment we neglect their theology.

[52] Supplementing an older one by Theodor Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen* (Leipzig, 1911).

[53] Cf. R. Friedmann, "Reason and Obedience: An Old Anabaptist Letter of Peter Walpot (1571) and Its Meaning," MENN. QUART. REV., XIX (1945), 27-40.

[54] A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder* (Philadelphia, 1943), 440-458.

[55] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 352-356.

[56] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 355, n. 13. Stanislaus Kot, *Political and Social Ideology of the Polish Brethren* (in Polish, Warsaw, 1932), ch. IV; and "Treatise Against the Moravian Communists from about 1569" (Traktat przeciwko 'komunistom' morawskim z roku okolo 1569) in a Polish periodical of 1887.

[57] Th. Wotschke, "Ein dogmatisces Senschreiben des Unitariers Ostorodt," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XII (1915), 137-154. This article contains the publication of an epistle of the afore-mentioned Unitarian minister of Smigiel, Poland, to the Swiss Brethren in Strassburg, 1591. The original is in the city library of Bern, Switzerland.

At a Socinian Synod in Poland, in October, 1568, one Lukas Mundius reported of his travels, and how he had spent several weeks among the Anabaptists in Moravia.[58] He was full of praise of their discipline and piety, and announced that a Hutterite delegation was about to come to visit the [Polish] Brethren of whose progress they had heard with much interest. The *Chronicle* has this to say about the same event. "Around the year '69 there was in Poland much zeal for truth but with little understanding. . . . They wrote vehemently against Trinity (as held by the pope) and of the difference between the rich and the poor Christ. On their request our community sent Brother Ludwig Dörker, minister of the Word, together with three other brethren [to Poland], . . . who caused them to send four young men to visit our church during the winter [1569/70]. But their worldly philosophy and intellectual wit, to which our own service in the Lord appeared simple and low, did not allow them to humble themselves into the service of the poor and crucified Christ."[59] Early in 1570, more Polish Brethren arrived for a firsthand investigation, one nobleman Janckovsky, three preachers,[60] an apothecary of Cracow by the name of Simon Ronemberg,[61] and a few more unnamed brethren. They found the discipline and piety of the Hutterites to be all that had been said, but in other regards they were disillusioned. "The Moravians proved to be uncompromising Trinitarians who did not scruple at calling their guests pagan for rejecting this doctrine."[62] Moreover, the cultural level of the Poles was radically different from that of the Moravians, their educational standards were dissimilar,[62a] and the social arrangements of the Hutterites were unacceptable to the brethren from Cracow. Wilbur closes his report as follows: "Although halfhearted efforts were still made, . . . nothing came of it, and relations were broken off, not without some reproachful expressions on both sides" (p. 355).

Naturally the *Chronicle* is much more elaborate on the same subject but confirms the above remark regarding the judgment of the Hutterites. It seems that these Hutterites kept minutes of their discussions to which they also attached the different letters exchanged.

[58] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 355.

[59] Zieglschmid (see note 54), 440, 441. "Aber ihre hohe Weltweisheit und Witz, in welcher sie des Herrn Werk einfältig und gering ansahen, konnten sich in den Dienst des armen und gekreuzigten Christo nicht schicken."

[60] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 355, names Fillipowski and Schoman of Chmielnik.

[61] A leading layman of the Polish church.

[62] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 355.

[62a] The Poles were intellectual with higher learning, something which Hutterites declined altogether.

The situation was delicate: the Hutterites thought that the Polish brethren had come to join their community, not merely to study it, while the Polish delegation rather tried to bring the Hutterites on their side, an endeavor which entailed much bitterness. The disputations were mainly of a theological character, with Peter Riedemann's *Rechenschaft des Glaubens* as the basis for the Hutterite position. "But we were not minded," says the Chronicle, "to deny our *Rechenschaft* and to deviate from it only for the sake of such carnal and unrenewed people who still lack a change of heart."[63] Soon afterwards three messengers arrived to deliver a letter from the Polish Brethren[64] and to continue the conversation. The *Chronicle* reports as follows: "These men went around here and there, looking [at our life] with a cold heart, and left soon. As there was not much [Christian] earnestness in them, they gained little [from their visit]."

Not long hereafter, the Elder or *Vorsteher* Peter Walpot decided to send a lengthy epistle to them hoping that at least a few *Gutherzigen so drinnen waren* (kindhearted men in Poland) would be touched by their faith and join the Hutterite community. A few excerpts of this rather impressive letter of 1571 may illustrate how the Hutterites looked at life and faith.

> . . . It has come out that those [sent by the Polish Brethren to Moravia] desired to teach us which we, however, as those who were not built on the sand could not accept, since this would mean letting ourselves be judged by those who have not altogether renounced the world and the pagan way of life . . . . *For mere knowledge and learning are not enough.* Also they should not think that the church (*Gemeinde*) would prefer to listen to them because of their much speaking or great wisdom, but would rather first have them tested and proved through tribulation, prison, bonds, and hard labor.
>
> My plea and admonition would be to you, if there is someone among you who would desire so to order his life that he may be able to stand in the judgment before God that such a one should lay hold of things in another way, namely, with work and life, and should not be satisfied with merely knowing the truth, since then a heavier judgment will rest upon him. Therefore, dear men and all zealous souls, since you know that human life is transient and temporary, do not postpone or delay your conversion.[65]

Although the contact of the two groups did not issue in any concrete result as was hoped for on either side, it does not seem

[63] Zieglschmid, *op. cit.* (n. 54), 442.

[64] It begins: "Gnad und Friede von Gott dem Vater, und dem Herrn Jesu Christi, dem Gekreuzigten." Zieglschmid, *op. cit.*, 443.

[65] Zieglschmid, *op. cit.*, 443-446; or R. Wolkan, *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Wien, 1923), 341-343. The Hutterites were then very aggressive missionaries in many parts of Europe. Note also that in spite of certain similarities in ways of life and interests the Hutterites decline to address the Polish friends as "brethren." They call them simply "dear men zealous after divine truth."

to have been without influence upon the development of the "Minor Church" (Unitarian) in Poland which at that time was still rather formless and without a church discipline. Wilbur is of the opinion that the envoys to Moravia brought back with them "some ideals of applied Christianity which were soon to be tried out in their own community."[66] That would explain the continuation of correspondence and other contacts between Poland and Moravia. The afore-mentioned apothecary Simon Ronemberg[67] apparently was particularly impressed by what he had seen in Moravia, and subsequently wrote to Peter Walpot, the Vorsteher of the Hutterites. We do not have Ronemberg's letter but only Walpot's answer, an epistle of unusual strength and conviction. In the printed *Chronicle* it takes up nearly thirteen pages.[68] Since a translation and interpretation of this epistle was published in the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW,[68a] no repetition is necessary at this place. The tenor of the epistle might be best summed up by the Apostle Paul's word, "Bring your reason [*Vernuft,* not 'thought' as in the R.V.] into the captivity of the obedience of God" (II Cor. 10:5). This is, in one sentence, the core of the Hutterite faith; obedience goes before reason; follow the commandments of God and do not soften them down by sophisticated reasoning. Nowhere does the antithesis between the two movements come out more clearly than in this so frankly spoken letter. And yet, we know of at least two more attempts to come to an understanding.

In his letter to the Swiss Brethren in Strassburg of 1591, Christopher Ostorodt mentions passingly one of these contacts.[69] "We know all too well," Ostorodt writes, "that prompting factions[70] is just as much a work of the flesh as other sins (Gal. 5). For that reason we do suffer others [who differ in their beliefs] and we would not shun them if they only want to be obedient to the Lord Jesus Christ, and are ready to recognize us as brethren. For such reasons two of our brethren went to Moravia during Lent of last year [1590] and had talks with your brethren in Awer-

66 Wilbur, *op. cit.,* 356.

67 Wilbur, *op. cit.,* 355, note 11, says of him that he was the most influential lay member of the Cracow congregation of the Minor (Unitarian) Church in Poland. But his own son returned to Catholicism, and his grandson became even a Jesuit.

68 Zieglschmid, *op. cit.,* 446-458.

68a Robert Friedmann, "Reason and Obedience: An Old Letter of Peter Walpot (1571) and Its Meaning," MENN. QUART. REV. (January, 1945), 19:27-40.

69 Wotschke, *op. cit.* (n. 57), 153. Wilbur does not mention this publication.

70 *Sektenmachen;* see Galatians 5:20 in the Revised Version. Instead of "factions" this could also be read: enmities, strife, divisions, parties.

schitz[71] and Pausern [Pausram]. They presented to them our confession of faith but never received any reply to it." The otherwise very detailed Hutterite *Chronicle* does not mention this incident at all, most likely considering this visit too ephemeral to have any relevance to their own life.

We learn of a still later deputation of Polish Unitarians to Moravia, around 1608 or 1609, when the question of practicing community of goods came up again among the Polish congregations. John Amos Comenius (Komenský), the great Bohemian educator and last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, writes in a letter of 1608 (1609) to his friend L. von Wolzogen[72] about the visit of several Polish Socinians in Moravia. On their way they stopped in Prerau, Moravia, calling on his teacher Dubius, who received them in a friendly manner, on the assumption that they were Calvinists. It was only after they departed, leaving a copy of the *Racovian Catechism* with their host, that their true background was identified. The book was immediately burned. Comenius then goes on in his letter disclosing the very purpose of the delegation. They had come to contact the "Brethren who live in community of goods [Hutterites]" with whom the Polish Socinians wanted to come into closer association. The outcome, writes Comenius, was the same as with all earlier visits. The Brethren kept strictly to the doctrine of the Trinity and called the Socinians "heathen" with whom they did not wish to have anything in common. "They received a refusal such as they received afterwards, too, on several occasions [from other Christian groups]." It is not clear where Comenius received his information concerning this visit, but it is known that he himself was familiar with the Hutterites in Moravia and thought highly of them. Therefore, his report must be taken as trustworthy.

Our survey of contacts between the Unitarians (the Minor Church in Poland) and the Austrian Anabaptists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can best be concluded by a few remarks on the Ostorodt correspondence of 1591, and the reaction to it, of which nothing is found in Wilbur's otherwise so exhaustive work. We remember Ostorodt's futile attempt at coming into closer contact with Hans de Ries and other Mennonites in Holland, around 1598. A few years earlier, in 1591, he tried a similar move by his

[71] Auspitz in Moravia (?). Ostorodt calls the Hutterites "Your brethren," being aware of their kinship with the Swiss Brethren in Strassburg.

[72] Published in Comenius' polemical writing, *De Quaestione*, etc., *contra Schefferum* (Amsterdam, 1659), 56, 57. Cf. J. Kvačala, *Johann Amos Comenius, sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1892), 10, and note 48 of part 1.

letter to the Swiss Brethren in Strassburg. He was, of course, fully aware of the kinship of these brethren to both the Hutterites in Moravia *(eure Brüder)* and the Doopsgezinden in the Netherlands. As he was now looking for a foothold in Western Europe he thought to find it nowhere else easier than among these Anabaptist brethren in Alsace. According to Wotschke, who published the letter, a missioner of the Polish Brethren by the name of Andreas Voidovsky, a collaborator of Qstorodt, had come into contact with the Strassburg Anabaptists around 1590/1, and tried to arouse their interest for the Minor Church. When he returned to Danzig, then Polish territory, he took a letter with him which apparently contained a number of questions by the Swiss Brethren concerning the Unitarian setup. To this Christopher Ostorodt answered in 1591 with an elaborate letter, filling sixteen pages in print (the manuscript is in Bern, Switzerland). In many regards it is a very fine letter, serious-minded, warm in tone, and emphasizing the Scriptural character of his doctrinal convictions. Unfortunately, in its substance it is nothing but a very thorough dissertation on the topic that to a student of the Scriptures the Trinity is inconceivable; in other words, that Christ was a human being, and a son of God in no other sense than that all men are children of God "in the Spirit." It is impossible to give here even an abstract of this treatise, and the epistle is nothing but that, since the argumentation in it is involved and intricate. In spite of all the kindness in tone, the brethren strongly felt the deep gap between their simple but concrete faith, and this new teaching, deriving from a totally different mental background. No bridge could close this gap, and union was definitely out of question. After having received this epistle, the Swiss Brethren in Strassburg convened in a Conference, in 1592, at which they discussed this issue. Their reply to Ostorodt and his church was forwarded under the title, "An answer of the Swiss Brethren, also named Upper-Germans, to the Polish concerning the point of incarnation and the deity of Jesus Christ." We quote here the concluding sentence:[73]

> Here you have briefly our unanimous declaration of our confession concerning Jesus Christ, the Son of God, nay indeed the Confession of Scripture according to the measure of our faith. We send it to you hoping that you will consider this matter and will not doubt God's almighty power but will assent to the truth. *For believing is not a decision of human reason but it is the acceptance of that which is incomprehensible to reason.* The God-fearing ones will believe and trust God's Word in that which seems

[73] To be found in a Dutch publication of 1666. See J. Horsch in MENN. QUART. REV., V (1931), 26, note 136.

to human reason impossible. Therefore, dear men,[74] fear God and ask Him for understanding that our hope and joy may be fulfilled. This is our desire for you from Him who is and was and ever shall be in eternity. . . . Passed at the general gathering of elders and ministers from many countries, held in the year 1592 at Strassburg.[74a]

Sixty-two years later Andreas Ehrenpreis, the last great leader of the Hutterites in Slovakia, wrote a booklet which is again a refutation of the Ostorodt letter. It is entitled, *Kurze Widerlegung des grossen Streites von Christo Jesu, dem Sohn Gottes, wie er von Christoph Ostorodt in seinem in Druck ausgegangenem Büchel samt seinem Anhang als Polnische Brüdern oder Arianern schimpflich und nachteilig verkleinert ward* (Sobotist, 1654.) Unfortunately, this tract is not available at present since it exists only in certain Hutterite manuscript books not accessible for the time being. From the title, however, we learn what neither Wotschke nor Wilbur seem to have known, namely, that Ostorodt's onetime epistle had been published in print.

How did it ever come into Ehrenpreis' hands? We do not know but we may suggest a conjecture of high probability which will appropriately end our discussion of Anabaptist-Socinian contacts. In 1654 a Danzig physician, Dr. Daniel Zwicker, had joined the Hutterite community in Slovakia. Its great leader and Vorsteher Andreas Ehrenpreis was of course conscious that Zwicker, an intellectual, could not wholeheartedly subscribe to all the tenets of the brethren; but his sincere enthusiasm for the community of goods made the brotherhood waive certain mental reservations on the part of Zwicker. He became a full-fledged member, a minister of the Word, and eventually a missionary of the brotherhood to his native city, Danzig, and to Prussia and Poland at large. Not only the *Chronicle* but also Wilbur, discusses at great length Zwicker's attitude.[75] An extensive correspondence has been preserved between Zwicker and a Danzig Unitarian Martin Ruar, in which the question of private property and the use of force is discussed in the light of Hutterite practices. Once again Zwicker urged a union between the Socinians in Danzig and the Hutterites; again with the same negative results as before.

[74] Like Peter Walpot, the Swiss Brethren in Strassburg also declined to call the Polish Unitarians "brethren." See note 65.

[74a] Horsch, *op. cit.*, 26.

[75] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 573-575. See also 510, note, where Kot's *Ideology* (Polish) is quoted as reference. See our note 56. Wilbur's presentation of Zwicker's life is at variance with the Hutterite *Chronicle* and the informations in Beck's *Geschicht Bücher der Österr. Wiedertäufer*, 1883. According to Wilbur, Zwicker joined the Brotherhood in 1644 while the *Chronicle* records his arrival and acceptance to the year 1654. Between 1643 and 1650 he was an "Arian" (Socinian), and his correspondence with the Hutterites did not begin before 1648.

Soon after being received into the brotherhood in Slovakia, Zwicker left for Danzig and returned to his original persuasion. Eventually, in 1657, he moved to the Netherlands, now strongly attacked by his former friend Comenius. It was the time when the old Socinianism in Holland began to decline in the atmosphere of the new rationalistic age and the environment of a well-settled middle class.[76] While the Polish Church in general rejected the doctrine of the freedom of the will and accepted predestination, Danzig and Dutch Unitarians were rather prone to Arminianism, and thus represented the real liberals of the new age. How could they ever think of having any dealings with strict Anabaptism? In a sense, our story ends almost as it began. What Adam Pastor once had been to the Dutch Mennonites of the mid-sixteenth century, Daniel Zwicker became to the Hutterites in the mid-seventeenth century. It must have been quite a shock to the well-disposed brethren in Slovakia. For we know that about 1654 Ehrenpreis sent three epistles to Dr. Zwicker in Prussia concerning the community of goods.[77] The records do not mention any answer, but the fact that Ehrenpreis later refuted the Ostorodt pamphlet would lend support to our hypothesis that it was Zwicker who had sent the pamphlet down to Slovakia as his way of telling the brethren of his new change of mind. Is it possible that he believed he could convince the brethren of the superiority of his new departure? History has proved that old Anabaptism was no wavering reed in the wind; it has withstood greater challenges than the rational ideas of Left-Wing theology.

[76] Wilbur, *op. cit.*, 575.

[77] Preserved in manuscript books with the Hutterite Brethren in Canada.

A HISTORY OF THE *MARTYRS' MIRROR*

GERALD C. STUDER

It is an irony of history that for two centuries one of the noblest specimens of American colonial book production should have remained unknown to many of our most learned bibliophiles. This obscurity is indicative of a characteristic of the people from whose ranks this book originated. The desire of every good Mennonite to be left unmolested within his own environment, there to execute with God's help everything demanded of a strict disciple of Christ, has kept him in the cultural, ideological, and literary background. This position within the total life of a nation, however, is not an adequate criterion for either the quantity of their activity or its quality. It was not until near the end of the last century that the *Martyrs' Mirror* was finally recognized by the "outside world." Since that time it has come to be considered the great historical work of the Mennonites, and their most durable monument.

Prior to 1883 no reference to this book could be found in the appendix to Thomas on printing published by the American Antiquarian Society.[1] This alone would not be worth mentioning except for the fact that it was the purpose of Thomas to list all the pre-Revolutionary publications of America. Neither was it known at this time to the librarian of the Philadelphia Public Library, yet Philadelphia is less than seventy-five miles from the establishment in Ephrata which printed and bound the book. Not even Sabin,[2] whose knowledge of Americana was unrivaled, knew anything of the book. What is even more remarkable, perhaps, is that in the entire collection of the famous Brinley Library of Americana there was only one book from the Ephrata press and it was not the *Martyrs' Mirror*. Nevertheless, it was this publication that has since given the Ephrata press an honored position in bibliophilist societies. And this position has been admirably won; for the task, which will be described later, was so immense and so well done that it marks an epoch in the literary history of America.

The *Martyrs' Mirror* represents the climax of a long line of predecessors and contributors. These shall be considered briefly

1 Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (2 vols., 1810, and subsequent revisions).

2 Joseph Sabin, *Dictionary of Books Relating to America from Its Discovery to the Present Time* (New York, 1868-92).

first, for it is by means of this evolution that the work can be most thoroughly understood and most accurately traced. There have been martyr books compiled since this of Van Braght, but these do not concern us here; not because of their insignificance, but because they have been but satellites and "back-trackers" to Van Braght. I would include within this group the excellent *Fox's Book of Martyrs*.

At times, certainties can be stated only on what appears to be the logical deduction from known facts. This is the basis upon which I state that martyrologies grew through the compilation of local lists. The oldest of those which have come down to us is the *Martyrologium Syriacum* compiled late in the fourth century A.D. By the use of this and other lists and sources, the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* was assembled in northern Italy in approximately 450 A.D. The latter one was the largest compilation of such material possessed by the early Christian church, as far as we know. It contained the usual information: names, the feast days, and information concerning the deaths and burial places of the martyrs, with occasional notes on the exhumation of their bones and other details.

Early it became a general conviction of the people of the church that there were two kinds of martyrs, and that some differences should be understood in speaking of them. As a result, the word "confessor," which is the Latin synonym for the Greek word "martyr," came to be used to designate those who acknowledged Christ, even in the courts and under torture, but who were not put to death. The word "martyr" then was reserved for those who not only faithfully acknowledged Christ, but who also had given their lives for Him. The word "confessor" was later used by the Roman Catholic Church as an honorary title given to all non-martyrs whose holiness the church wished to recognize in some special way. It remained then for the Anabaptists to recover the original seriousness of these words and to use them in that way.

Even before these early compilations of martyrs, we have in the *Church History* of Eusebius (d. 342) the concept of the "church under the Cross" from Christ to Constantine. Eusebius sees in the fact of martyrdom the hatred of the Anti-christ, and for this reason the church must needs proceed "under the Cross." Following the vindication of the church by the imperial edict of Constantine in 313, the great tradition of the true and persecuted church of Christ was adopted and handed down by new "heretical" bodies. The Roman Catholic Church now became the persecutor rather than the

persecuted. The tolerance granted to it resulted in its later intolerance of others. As the *Ausbund* (of which I shall speak later) testifies, Eusebius and the entire history of the church are witnesses of the truth expressed in the *Martyrs' Mirror* when it says that "all of the Holy Scriptures seems to be nothing else but a book of Martyrdom." Incidentally, this last quotation reveals the fact that Eusebius was known to many of the Anabaptist martyrs as we can see from their early records.

There is little room for the questioning of motives when the life of a person is at stake and he readily agrees to sacrifice it. Any selfish or worldly motive usually falls short of claiming the life of its possessor. But to a person realizing, however inadequately, the apocalyptic significance of the truth of Christ and the Scriptures, the value or importance of his own personal existence in this world fades rapidly into oblivion. Consequently, there is little problem in the establishment of the proof necessary to make any martyred servant of God a person of heroic virtue. In such a case it is only necessary to prove that the martyr has been made a martyr because of his prosecutor's hatred for Christian truth and virtue, and not because of any other provocation. The only danger is that sympathy or compassion on the part of those remaining may have ascribed to the martyred a virtue not historically existent. The apparent ease, however, with which such dangers as this can usually be avoided is perhaps a valid explanation for the early appearance of martyr books. We are not overly kind if we ascribe to the early fathers of history the same degree of honesty as we accredit to ourselves. If the records indicate that the martyr in question suffered death undefeated and patiently unto the end, he is worthy of our imitation and of every respect that we can show his memory. Many statements by Van Braght manifest a sincere desire to record only those martyrdoms that are unquestionable in every way, and which were the result of nothing but the cause of Christ.

In the early years of the Reformation, Luther did much to renew and evaluate more precisely the ideas which have since developed into a "theology of martyrdom."[3] But this initial conviction, along with so many others of Luther's early years, was abandoned as soon as Luther actually established a state church. Perhaps this loss was foreshadowed, along with the other apostolic practices long since obliterated, when Constantine freed the church from every persecution that was serving continually to purify it.

[3] See Ethelbert Stauffer, "The Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom," MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW (July, 1945), 19:179-214.

Luther understood too, at first, that these martyrs were dying, not because of any perversity of character, but because of determination to uphold the holy truth. The vigorous polemic of the young Luther turns against the authorities in such tracts as his *Von Herrn Leonhard Keiser in Baiern umb des Evangelii willen verbrent* in which he stoutly maintains that the persecutors do not realize what they are doing when they persecute the evangelical Christians. But later, along with his general compromise with immediate convenience, and with what he held to be expediency, he modified his conviction to the contention that not all lives that are extinguished at a stake are necessarily true martyrdoms. This is, of course, true, but what he failed to consider was that martyrs dying at this later date were dying for the same reasons and faith as they were at the time when he was still upholding them.

The deeper meaning of the various facets of Luther's compromise is well explained and described in the words of Stefan Zweig in the following fragments of paragraphs from his book *The Right to Heresy*:

> Again and again do we see . . . that there is scant hope of success for one who has at his command no other power than that of moral rectitude, and who, standing alone, joins battle with a compact organization [in Luther's case, the State] . . . . For those who are children of the spirit rather than children of the flesh, it will always be a very responsible decision when they are asked to leave the sphere of pure thought in order to enter the obscure and undisturbed regions of political realism . . . . Wherever a State or a system forcibly suppresses freedom of thought, only three possibilities are open to those who cannot endure the triumph of violence over conscience. They can openly resist the reign of terror and become martyrs . . . or, wishing to preserve internal freedom and at the same time to save their lives, the malcontents can ostensibly submit . . . [or] the third expedient is to become a refugee.[4]

In 1552, in the city of Strasbourg, Germany, there appeared what one might call the first European martyr book. It was written and compiled by Ludwig Rabus (also found as Rab, Raab, and Louis Rabe) and was entitled *Historien der Heylign auserwaehlten Gottes Zeugen* which might be translated History of the Holy Elected Witnesses of God. It was published by Samuel Emmel and was followed by numerous editions. Two years later, in 1554, there followed the martyr book of Geneva, in the French language, by Crespins. It was entitled *Le Livre Des Martyrs*. This was succeeded by a martyr book in the Dutch language entitled *De Geschiedenis ende den doodt der vromen Martelaran*. This His-

[4] New York: The Viking Press, 1936.

tory and Death of Pious Martyrs was written by Van Haemstede and appeared in 1559. It had much influence upon the martyr books which were to appear later from within the circles of the Dutch Mennonites. It influenced especially the one by Van Braght which appeared first in 1660, and about which this history is written.

The 250-page duodecimo printed in Holland and entitled *Het Offer des Heeren* which followed in 1562 was to become the prototype of all later martyr story books. It contained biographical sketches of a number of the early Mennonite martyrs, accompanied by hymns describing their suffering, piety, manner of life, and the date of their death. The title page of this book gives no hint as to the place of printing or the person of the printer, because to publish such a book was then punishable by fire. Later editions of this book appeared in 1567, 1570, 1576, 1578, 1580, 1589, 1595, and 1599, printed either in Emden or in Amsterdam. This book is now very scarce in spite of its frequent reprinting, since such books as this were often, along with their owners, burned by the executioners. The first of the hymns in this book deals with the story of the Lord's Passion. One of the testaments later appearing in Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror* was first printed in the 1570 edition of *Het Offer des Heeren.* This testament was the farewell of one Anneken of Rotterdam to her son which she handed to him on the morning of her execution. It was reprinted in this book along with her farewell hymn. From here the hymn was taken into the *Ausbund.*

The *Ausbund* just mentioned was the first Mennonite hymnbook and was first published in German by the Swiss Brethren in 1564. The last European edition of it was printed in Basel in 1838. At least sixteen editions have appeared in America from American presses. It contains a goodly number of descriptions of the constant faithfulness and heroic deaths of many martyrs. The first dated edition appeared in Europe in 1583. Along with this brief description of the *Ausbund* I should like to mention another early Anabaptist book which predates even the earliest book I have referred to thus far. This book is the *Hutterian Chronicle* which was begun by the Hutterian group soon after its founding in 1528. It was never intended for wide circulation or even for printing at all since it is what might be called a group diary. Only in recent years has its historical value been realized and utilized. It continues today and has always been nothing more nor less than a record of events, sales and purchases, and significant incidents in the life of this most unique and enduring of Christian communal

societies, the Hutterian Brethren. This chronicle contains a "martyrs' gallery" of over 2,173 brethren and sisters who gave their lives for the sake of the faith. It records few details, often only the place of execution. Other than this it gives general descriptions of the various methods used to kill the individuals and makes comments to the effect that, indeed, "except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

In 1570 a collection of twenty-five hymns was added to the afore-mentioned *Het Offer des Heeren* making it practically a new book. This is the oldest Dutch Mennonite hymnal of which we know. The Great Martyr Book and Church History of Crocius appeared in 1591 under the title *Groszes Maertyrerbuch Und Kirchenhistorien.* In 1615 appeared the book which was in part the result of the renewed efforts of Jacques Outerman of Haarlem who made a trip to Flanders in 1599 for the purpose of collecting material pertaining to Mennonite martyrology. This book was later published by Hans de Ries and Outerman under the title *Historie der Warachtighe Getuygen Jesu Christi.* It is the first genuine Mennonite martyr book and it was first printed in Hoorn in 1615 by Zacharias Cornelisz. Later three other editions came out in 1617, 1626, and 1631. Some of these editions were printed in Haarlem also. This History of the Martyrs or True Witnesses of Jesus Christ was a large quarto of 863 pages with an engraved title page.

Two years after the appearance of the first edition of the Outerman-Ries martyr book, Twisk and Pieters had the book reprinted with the addition of a Confession of Faith of thirty-three articles. Of this confession nothing is known definitely as to the time first printed, author, or place. It is held by the late John Horsch that it was written by Twisk himself. The title of this reprint remained the same as the original from which it was copied and it was often called "the great *Offer* book." With this first reprinting, Twisk and Pieters overlooked the fact that Ries had included some martyrs that were, to them, heretics. To correct this mistake they issued a new edition in 1626 omitting the heretics. This was taken as an offence by Ries's friends; so they published a *Martelaers Spiegel* in 1631. It is possible, but not certain, that Ries may have edited this newly titled edition of his old book. At any rate, this marytr book contains a chapter against the Münsterites that was not included in the first edition, and also the Confession of Faith which Twisk and Pieters had added.

In 1619 another Dutch martyr book came out. This one was by Mellin and was entitled *Groot Christen Martelaersboeck*. The earliest edition of the Dutch Mennonite martyr book containing the Hutterian accounts was that published at Hoorn in 1626 by Zacharias Cornelisz. This one was also edited by Pieter Jansz Twisk and Syvaret Pieters. In the same year that the last edition of the Ries-Outerman book appeared, there was also published in Haarlem a handsome black-letter folio of 1,050 pages by Hans Passchiers von Wesbuch entitled *Martelaers Spiegel der werelose Christen.*

In the city of Dordrecht, Holland, on January 6, 1625, was born Tieleman Jansz van Braght (i.e., Dillman Johns of Braght), the greatest of all the Mennonite martyrologists. His father was a cloth merchant of some means. Young Tieleman was a child of extraordinary talent. When he was twenty-three years old he was ordained a Mennonite minister in the Dordrecht congregation. He was always and everywhere a vigorous defender of the faith. This perhaps explains the admiration which he always must have had for those whose lives had been taken because of their faith. In the year 1657 appeared the first edition of his book, entitled *School of Moral Virtue,* the purpose of which was to lead young people into a pure fear of God, and, consequently, a righteous life. This book was to see many editions and great popularity. Tieleman was considered a gifted preacher by the people of his day. He will be remembered chiefly, however, for the book which these qualities and interests helped to produce. It first appeared in 1660, just four years before his death. This book was entitled *Het Bloedigh Tooneel der Doops-Gesinde en Weereloosen Christenen* and appeared as a folio of 1,329 pages which contained the record of the martyrs from Christ's time to 1660, interspersed with treatises, in series, on baptism as well as confessions of faith.

In the foreword of the first edition, Van Braght says that this *Martyrs' Mirror* is unchanged from the great *Offer* book of 1631, except that a few newly found martyr histories had been added; but, he adds, even so it has actually become an entirely new book. The book is really a compilation of the writings of many authors. In this first edition Van Braght lists 356 books he had consulted in his writing and compilation. Some question was raised in 1885 by Herman Haupt, secretary of a university library in Germany, and by others concerning the reliability of many of the *Mirror's* accounts. Haupt maintained that many of them were unreliable, but he gave no proofs for his position. Dr. Ludwig Keller (1849-

1915) and Professor Samuel Cramer (1842-1913) have done much to vindicate Van Braght of any charges of unreliability, and have demonstrated that he was an accurate historian for his day. Professor Cramer published the results of his study in the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* for 1899-1900. He makes it clear that the material on the Mennonite martyrs is reliable, and that the Hutterian martyr accounts are taken directly from their *Chronicle*. Van Braght's contention for the Waldensian descent of the Mennonites is, of course, incorrect; but he can be excused here on the grounds of inadequate information, whereas in practically all other cases he had access to material which has probably long since been lost.

It must be remembered as we consider the content of Van Braght's *Mirror* that his primary intention was to establish the fact that believers' baptism and nonresistance had been maintained by various persecuted sects ever since the apostolic age. This will explain the inclusion by Van Braght of Manichaeans, Waldenses, Albigenses, etc., some of which held doctrine strongly repudiated by Mennonites. In the light of these facts it is indeed strange that Van Braght denied Gillis van Aachen a place in the *Mirror* because he recanted while undergoing torturous treatment. That Van Aachen, as an elder of the Anabaptists, is supposed to have baptized more martyrs than any of the other leaders of the movement, seems to have made no difference to Van Braght. The 1660 edition of the *Martyrs' Mirror* was in one volume but with two title pages. Twenty-five years later, in 1685, a second edition appeared, but this one was in two separate volumes. These were magnificent folio volumes, handsomely illustrated with a frontispiece and 104 copperplate engravings by Jan Luyken.[5] In this edition also there are two title pages, the first having been made from the engraving by D. Penning which he had made from the sketch of a certain L. Vander Vinne. Both of these first two editions have a rather large and elaborate colophon near the bottom of the second title page.

Jan Luyken was born in Amsterdam on April 16, 1649, and died April 5, 1712. During part of his life he was a Mennonite and worshiped with the Mennonite congregation at Beverwijk with which he united in 1673. He made 105 plates for Van Braght's *Mirror,* but only 104 were ever used. These same plates were also used about 1700 in a work entitled *Theatres des Martyrs*

[5] Both names, Tieleman Jansz Van Braght and Jan Luyken, are found in many various spellings, but for the purposes of this paper, I shall continue to use the spellings that I have used up to this point.

which was published without text, date, or imprint. In 1932, when Harold S. Bender of Goshen College was visiting in Germany, he spoke to a certain gentleman of Munich concerning the entire set of Luyken plates which he had in his possession. He offered to sell them for $2,000. They could not be purchased at that time and since then no effort has been made either to rediscover them or to purchase them. As to content it may be said that Van Braght first presents a history of martyrdom from Jesus Christ to the end of the Middle Ages, taken in part from Tertullian and Eusebius. Following this, he presents the multifold fate of the Anabaptists from 1524 to 1660, using a great number of confessions, letters, hymns, and other records. The concluding portion is the letter of intercession from the States General (Holland) on behalf of the Swiss Brethren of 1660. Since the Anabaptists of the early days felt themselves heirs of a very old martyrs' tradition, they had for that reason collected all the available martyr stories of the past. They were published with the intention that such stories of heroism would inspire the reader to maintain the faith by a similar courage. In this way they would serve as a means of uplift in days of affliction. Ethelbert Stauffer distinguishes three groups of literary expression in the Anabaptist philosophy of history from the angle of a "theology of martyrdom": (1) the martyr lists; (2) the rarer martyrs' stories; and eventually (3) the martyr books of later periods.

By way of summary of content, a rather hurried study of the index to the 1886 English edition will show that the accounts of at least 4,011 burnings of individuals are recorded, besides numerous stonings, crucifixions, imprisonments, decapitations, brandings, severed tongues, ears, hands, feet, etc., gouged eyes, rackings, burials alive, suffocations, whippings, and so on, treatment as torturous and as varied as the imaginations of heathen and the belligerents of Christendom will allow. In addition to the publications of some 213 letters of farewell, testimony, etc., there are three formal confessions of faith along with detailed discussions of mode, meaning, and value of baptism from the first to the fifteenth centuries, with frequent reference to the writings of the church fathers. Throughout these discussions, there is manifested a thorough knowledge and intelligent understanding of general church history, with such deductions and observations as were possible at that early date. It must ever be remembered that as the vantage point from which history must be viewed rises higher and higher with the passing of each year, increasingly keen observa-

tions and deductions can and will be made. There are also discussions on other doctrines and subjects, such as the swearing of oaths, the place of secular authority, Christian separation from the world, the Papacy, repentance, resurrection, reformation, the obscurity of the church of God, the signs of the times, the Last Judgment, the discordance of the Papistic writers, the doctrines of Origen, feet washing, etc., etc. Much of this discussion is in a vivid and lively style. Carefully chosen analogies and metaphors are frequently used to depict the point under discussion in the language of experiences and knowledge common to all readers. Often too, since the experience of one martyr is the same as that of many who have gone before, but yet meriting mention for the sake of completeness, it is retold in what might be called a "fixed style." These formulas are used for brevity and are so stated as to give all the relevant details in the least possible space.

The *Hutterite Chronicle* is especially addicted to this method. For example, it will state the frequent result of open confession in this terse sentence: "What they confessed by mouth, they testified by blood." Since the Anabaptists see life "under the Cross" as a real battle of the age between the carnal world and spiritual power, they have abundant opportunity to use the most picturesque as well as the most appalling of words and phrases. The changing of fashions in clothing by the people of the world is compared with the phases of the moon for regularity and frequency. The virtue of one knight of Christ is depicted as of such extraordinary good quality and consistency that "he fought or pressed his way with such force through the strait gate that he left his flesh on the posts." More lengthy, but nonetheless simple and excellent is the metaphor used by Van Braght in his description of the obscurity of the church of God in the following passage: "As the moon, notwithstanding her substance and body never perish, is not always seen in her full light by the human eye, either because she sinks beneath the horizon, or, being too close to the sun, is obscured from him, or, being far from the sun, is darkened by the shadow of the earth, which is called an eclipse; even so it is with the substance and appearance of the church of God on earth." Such metaphor is not only ever new and pleasant to those possessing a knowledge of the path of the earth in space, but it is also informative to those simple souls who have experienced only the facts of such workings without ever hearing the reasons for them. But, most importantly, it describes adequately the fluctuating position of the church in the world. Along with these writings Scripture references can always be found

in abundance, from both the Old and New Testaments, as well as the Old Testament Apocrypha, which at that time still held the respect of the church.

In 1722, J. Bout edited an abridgment of Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror* under the title *'T Merg van de Historien der Martelaren.* It consists of short accounts of the confessions, witnessings, tortures suffered, and executions of Christian martyrs from Christ to 1671, most of which are abridgments of the accounts just as Van Braght had given them. It was published by the Widow Barend Visscher in Amsterdam. It contains many small illustrations which are reproductions from the Luyken plätes, but with all the figures represented in the reverse position from the originals. An abbreviated German translation by Theophilum from the original Dutch edition appeared in Pennsylvania in 1745 under the title *Das Andenken einiger heiligen Martyrer.* The translator was a member of the Ephrata Cloister, which later published the entire translation. It is assumed by this author that Theophilum was the Latin name taken by Peter Miller, the prior of the Cloister. This abbreviated translation was bound into a book of 120 pages. In this same year (1745), but prior to the book just mentioned, another book was also printed which contained the "Confession of Faith by Thomas von Imbroich, and numerous other testimonials, epistles, prayers, and hymns by Mennonite martyrs." It was the first book printed on the Ephrata press and was entitled *Gueldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen.* It consisted of 519 pages.

Many of the Dutch editions of the *Mirror* were brought to America by the early Mennonite settlers. It is suggested by John C. Wenger that "The early Franconia Mennonites were perhaps more literary than the Mennonites of any other section of America. The early Mennonites who came to Germantown and Skippack brought with them the Dutch *Marytrs' Mirror.*" Comparatively few of the settlers could read the Dutch, however, and there was as yet only the abbreviated German translation previously mentioned.

On May 8, 1742, the Pennsylvania Mennonites wrote to their Holland brethren of their circumstances here in America, of their growth numerically, of their fruitless appeal to the Assembly for military exemption, and of the danger of imminent war, but received no answer. With the declaration of war in 1744 between England and France they became fearful that their nonresistant principles would be endangered. For this reason, on October 19, 1745, Jacob Godschalck, Dielman Kolb, Heinrich Funck, Yilles Kassel, all from Mennonite communities in the Franconia area in

southeastern Pennsylvania, wrote a second letter to their brethren in Amsterdam to ask their counsel and aid in translating and printing a complete German *Martyrs' Mirror.* They inquired also into the approximate cost, with and without copper plates, for printing, binding, and mailing. Part of this letter follows:

> As the flames of war appear to mount higher, no man can tell whether the cross and persecution of the defenseless Christians will not soon come, and it is therefore of importance to prepare ourselves for such circumstances with patience and resignation, and to use all available means that can encourage steadfastness and strengthen faith. Our whole community has manifested a unanimous desire for a German translation of the *Bloody Theater of Tieleman Jansz Van Braght,* especially since in this community there is a very great number of newcomers, for which we consider it to be of greatest importance that they should become acquainted with the trustworthy witnesses who have walked in the way of truth, and sacrificed their lives for it.

The letter also voiced a concern that the book be printed on good paper and that it be translated accurately so that all the truth would remain unimpaired. The letter closed with a request for an immediate answer. About three years later the Dutch Mennonites answered the letter and discouraged or "threw cold water," as Pennypacker puts it, on the whole enterprise. It seemed to them entirely impractical. They suggested instead that some of the brethren who did understand the Dutch language should translate and recopy the chief histories in the manuscript and thereby secure the advantage for themselves of a stronger impression because of having to give it more thought.

During this time, however, the Americans had found another way to accomplish their purpose. This was through the Ephrata group of Mystical Dunkers who, in 1745, had secured a hand printing press and a paper mill. They agreed both to translate the book and to print it, and that the Mennonites should afterwards be at liberty to purchase it or not as they saw fit. Such an arrangement was a godsend and met with the approval of the Mennonites. This group could be trusted also to use good paper and to translate it accurately. According to an Ephrata chronicler the project was begun in early September of 1745. Such was the devotion of the Ephrata recluses in their work on this book that their chronicler tells of many trials which this endeavor heaped upon them, and that this added not a little to their martyrdom. While they were working, their worldly affairs fell into neglect. This emphasizes the total lack of selfish interest on their part and vindicates them of certain things of which they had been accused. The abettor of

the work throughout was the founder of the Cloister, Conrad Beissel, who was known among the brethren as *Vater Friedsam*. Most of the literary work was done by Peter Miller, the learned prior, who, incidentally, at the request of Congress, later translated the Declaration of Independence into seven different European languages.

Three years were spent upon the book, but the work was occasionally interrupted by a deficiency in the paper supply at hand. Consequently, during the time that the book was actually in process, the Cloister brethren got deeply in debt; but this debt was soon liquidated through the great demand for the book once it was ready and placed on sale. The book was printed in large folio, in an edition of 1,300. In counsel with the Mennonites, it was agreed that it sell for twenty shillings ($2.67 in American currency). This price certainly establishes the fact that the enterprise was a nonprofit one, even after we allow for the differences in the economy between that year and ours. It is hoped that the announcement of this price put at rest those hearts who had written earlier voicing a fear that the motive for this great work was the impure one of anticipated great financial gain for the brethren. It was a massive folio of 1,512 pages, ponderously and solidly bound, printed on strong thick paper in large type in order "that it may suit the eyes of all," says the preface.

The binding was of boards covered with leather, with corner brass mountings and two brass clasps. The back was protected additionally by strips of brass-nail-studded leather. A few copies were issued with a copper engraved frontispiece, but the book is complete without it. This plate pictured John the Baptist immersing Christ in the Jordan River. This being distasteful to the Mennonites, holding as they did to pouring as the mode of baptism, they refused to have the plate in the copies which they purchased. The Dunkers, however, were pleased with the plate and desired it in their copies. There is in the Cassel collection another plate which was prepared for the book but which, for some unknown reason, was never used. The plates were engraved by M. Eben of Frankfurt, Germany.

Some of the books were bound in two volumes. The title page to volume two says that it was "translated out of the Dutch into the German, with some new information added." This is found in place of some of the lines on the first title page. One of the additions made to this edition was a poem telling of the martyrdom of Hans Haslibacher. This was lifted from the *Ausbund*. H. Funk and D.

Kolb helped to proofread and check every page as it was printed. Part of the agreement for the production of this book was that the book would be very carefully proofread and printed on good paper in neat print at the brotherhood's cost provided the Mennonites would promise to buy the copies and have none printed or brought here from any other place.

Israel Acrelius, author of a *History of New Sweden,* records that Peter Miller told him on his visit to the Cloister that while he was translating the *Martyrs' Mirror* he often did not sleep more than four hours a night. It was also told him, he records, that of all the works published there the martyr book had given the most trouble and the least return. During the Revolutionary War six American soldiers came to Ephrata with two wagons and hauled off the remaining unbound martyr books and probably used some of them as wadding for their guns. Some of the Mennonites, hearing of this, thought that the war would end unfavorably because of the maltreatment of the memorials of the martyrs. At last, however, they were honored again by some sensible person who returned all that was left of them.

Copies of this Ephrata edition of the *Martyrs' Mirror* are now scarce. The excellent workmanship, type, and hand-printing make it a great rarity which is all too little known. It has been said that "it easily stands at the head of our colonial books." This book is also the largest book printed in the American colonies before the Revolution. It appeared six years before the French and Indian War actually came to Pennsylvania. In the nineteenth century, however, the church was so inert that the Civil War had been in progress for more than two years before any literature on the subject of peace was produced at all. The active interest in the continuation of Mennonite doctrines which had brought about the reprinting of the martyr book in the eighteenth century seems to have been entirely lacking in the nineteenth century.

The Ephrata translation was reprinted in Pirmasens in the Palatinate of Germany in 1780. This edition used the original Luyken engravings that were used in the 1685 edition published in Holland. The Pirmasens edition consists of two large volumes bound in one book. The first volume is from the apostle to 1600 and the second, which is twice as large as the first, is from 1600 to 1660. This edition is an exact copy of the Ephrata reprint. The title page says that this book was sponsored by the united brotherhood in Europe. There were probably two editions printed in Pirmasens because some title pages carry the printer's name and

others do not. Those having the printer's name say it was sponsored by several members of the brotherhood. The problem remains, however, that nothing is known of any "united brotherhood" that may have existed at that time. It is probably an exaggeration. It is possible that the Mennonites which sponsored the one edition objected to the exaggeration, and that for this reason the reprinting carried a modified statement. Hans Nafziger edited this edition and he received the 105 Luyken plates in 1778 from Amsterdam. The editor had only 400 copies on order at that time, but he had 1,000 printed so as to reduce the cost.

In 1814 another edition of the *Martyrs' Mirror* was published by Joseph Ehrenfried at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. It sold for ten dollars a copy and was a folio edition of 976 pages, fifteen inches tall, and magnificently bound. The preface in this edition gives some information concerning this and other publications like it. It lists various editions of the *Martyrs' Mirror,* but makes no mention of the Pirmasens edition. It is possible that it was unknown to the printer. It is often said the Ehrenfried edition was called forth by the War of 1812, but there is no proof extant that would verify such a statement. The first English translation of the *Martyrs' Mirror* to appear was that of I. D. Rupp published by David Miller of near Lampeter Square, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and printed by Carpenter M'Cleary in Lancaster city in 1837. It is an imperfect translation, and contains no illustrations whatsoever. In 1849, Shem Zook, an Amish Mennonite, had a quarto German edition published in Philadelphia. It has two title pages, the first of which is an engraving on steel by Peter Maerrich. Another English edition was published by the Hansard Knollys Society of London in 1853. This edition has an engraving by H. Crisp opposite the title page and a few others by the same person sprinkled throughout the two volumes. It was printed only once and this was a two-volume edition.

In 1870, John F. Funk, of Elkhart, Indiana, published another German edition of the Mirror. The prospectus for this edition showed an engraving by the Acme Engraving Company of Chicago to be opposite the title page. The actual edition, however, had the Maerrich engraving reproduced instead. There were no other illustrations. Joseph F. Sohm's English translation was published in 1886 by the Mennonite Publishing Company in Elkhart, Indiana. This translation was made from the original Dutch edition except where questions of doubt occurred, in which the 1685 Dutch edition, as well as the German editions, were also consulted. Sohm writes

a preface to point out the chief difficulties in translation and to indicate the completeness of his work. This edition has an engraving of Van Braght by Adr. Spinniker opposite the title page. Following the preface, invocation, and introduction, is another highly embellished and symbolical picture which was processed by the Acme Engraving Company of Chicago. This was the same picture that had appeared earlier in the prospectus for the 1870 edition. Another German edition was published by the Mennonite Publishing House in Scottdale, Pennsylvania, in 1915. This edition has as its only illustration the Maerrich engraving which has been referred to before. It is very poorly reproduced in this edition and as one looks at each successive reprinting of this engraving, it becomes ever more conservatively framed and less distinct.

The last edition of the *Martyrs' Mirror* to appear was that of 1938, published by the Mennonite Publishing House, of Scottdale, Pennsylvania. It is an edition of 1,152 pages with fifty-five engravings reproduced from the Luyken originals. The more gruesome sketches are not reproduced. This edition was a reprint of the 1886 edition published by Funk in Elkhart, and was bound in strong, buff, imitation leather with a sprinkled edge. It sold for $6.00. It was a year in process. John Horsch explains the numerous misspelled proper names by saying that it was "scarcely . . . the proper thing to begin making such corrections" now. It was, furthermore, an evidence of the very careful proofreading given it by the publishers. Horsch thought it unfortunate that Van Braght represented the mode of baptism of former centuries as being that of immersion. He considered it less common than the *Mirror* made it appear. However, he recognized that Van Braght represents the Anabaptist mode as affusion. Generally speaking, Horsch thought that Van Braght's knowledge of the history of the Swiss Brethren was "very slight." He also points out that few English readers have ever seen most of the pictures of the old Dutch edition. He felt that a new index should have been made along with some minor changes in the text proper, such as capitalizing pronouns referring to Deity, etc. This 1938 edition has the same engraving opposite the title page as the 1886 edition has opposite page 61. It contains a list of Swiss Brethren martyrs who were executed in Bern from the year 1529 to 1571. It was copied from the so-called Tower Book in 1667 by Hans Lorsch, who himself was later a Swiss Brethren martyr. The list was preserved by Christian Kropf.

C. D. Lerch, in a letter to John C. Wenger in 1939, says that there are still a few copies of the *Martyrs' Mirror* among the

Swiss Mennonites. These are probably copies of the Pirmasens edition. He adds, however, that they are probably very little read, because the Swiss Mennonites know so little history. Adolph Fluri, a Seminary Professor in Bern, Switzerland, has proved the Bern martyr list to be authentic. He maintains that the list contains not enough names, rather than too many, as has been supposed. Ernst Correll in his treatise entitled *Das Schweizerische Täufermennonitentum* points out that the Dutch Mennonites were the first to produce an independent historical literature and that their martyrology is based on archival sources.

MARTIN WENINGER'S VINDICATION OF ANABAPTISM, 1535

Translated and Edited by John C. Wenger

One of the chief leaders of the Swiss Brethren in the first decade of the movement was a Schaffhausen citizen named Martin Weninger, commonly called *Lingki*.[1] But little is known of his life. It is known that he was one of the Anabaptist leaders who was banished from Zurich following the third major disputation between the Zwinglians and the Anabaptists, in November, 1525.[2] In July, 1531, an Anabaptist named Flückiger reported in court that he had been baptized by the Anabaptist leader Lingki the previous Easter.[3] In the 1532 Anabaptist-Reformed disputation, held at Zofingen, Canton Bern, the chief spokesman for the Brethren was "Marti Weninger, genannt Lincki," of Schaffhausen. Berthold Haller (1492-1536), the Reformed leader of Bern, described Lingki as "a learned and cunning man, an eloquent and amazing hypocrite, especially gifted in deception."[4] In the course of the 1532 debate when Weninger demanded Scriptural proof for infant baptism the Reformed spokesman replied: "Dear Lincki, Tell me where it is written that the apostles baptized a German or a Swabian. If one could prove a matter in this way I would say: It is not written that the apostles baptized a German or a Swabian, therefore one shall not baptize a German."[5] Lingki was probably not unduly impressed with this bit of sophistry.

In the first paragraph of his *Vindication,* herewith presented in an English translation, Weninger explains the occasion for his writing. The person requesting the statement was undoubtedly a member of the state Reformed Church of Schaffhausen, assuredly a clergyman.

The content of the *Vindication* requires little comment. Suffice it to say that it provides the standard Swiss Brethren position on their withdrawal from the state church. The Brethren could not recognize the carnal clergy and laity of that group as the true church of Christ, but felt compelled by Scripture to withdraw from

[1] Could the nickname possibly refer to left-handedness?

[2] *Die Taufgesinnten-Gemeinden* (Karlsruhe, 1931), 139. He is here called Martin Ling von Schaffhausen.

[3] *Ibid.,* 173.

[4] *Ibid.,* 175. Cf. Daniel Kauffman, *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary* (Scottdale, Pa., 1937), 394. This evaluation is apparently by John Horsch.

[5] *Ibid.,* 343.

such an unspiritual group in order to create a true Christian fellowship of redeemed persons who kept sincerely the commandments of Christ.

One point in the treatise does require comment, however. It might appear that the Brethren regarded themselves as sinless in character following their regeneration. This was by no means the case. In the Zofingen disputation Weninger himself stated: "In me there is nothing good. I am unable of myself even to think anything that is good, but am, as others, flesh and blood and subject to temptation. But that I should let these reign I answer, No. Therefore God must give me grace to overcome."[6] The Brethren held that the flesh of the Christian remained unregenerated in this life, but insisted that Christians could no longer live in the lusts of the flesh. It is a known fact that the moral level of the state church membership in the sixteenth century was low. Heinrich Bullinger (1504-75), the Swiss Reformed leader, in his larger work against the Brethren, wrote: "There is no doubt that people in general sin very grievously against God by their frequent, wicked, yea devilish swearing. And it is in our time not only the rude men of war who swear, but also the commoners and craftsmen, yea the preachers themselves, the wives and daughters and children."[7] This report agrees perfectly with the accusations of Weninger.

Surprisingly enough, it was reported at the 1538 Anabaptist-Reformed disputation, held at Bern, that the Anabaptist leader Lingki had made a recantation of Anabaptism at Schaffhausen *vor aller gmeind an offner Cantzel*[7a] (from the pulpit to the entire church). It is not known what considerations of logic, torture, or threatened martyrdom moved Weninger to this act. Nor is it known in what faith he died.

The text which underlies the following translation of Weninger's *Rechenschaft* was furnished in typewritten form by the state archivist of Schaffhausen, Switzerland, Dr. Reinhard Frauenfelder, in March, 1948.[8] It was taken from the *Documents on the History of the Reformation in Schaffhausen* by Joh. Jak. Spleiss (1586-1657).[9] The original is not divided into paragraphs; all

[6] Cited by John Horsch, "The Faith of the Swiss Brethren," The Mennonite Quarterly Review (April, 1931), 5:132.

[7] *Ibid.*, 137n.

[7a] *Die Taufgesinnten-Gemeinden*, 179.

[8] Cf. footnote 19, below. I compared the Bächtold handwritten copy frequently.

[9] These dates are given by Dr. Fritz Blanke of Zurich in his annotated text of Zwingli's Elenchus. The German title of the Spleiss work is *Akten zur Geschichte der Reformation in Schaffhausen.*

paragraphing is by the present translator. The English translation herewith follows:

1535: THE VINDICATION OF MARTIN WENINGER CALLED LINGKI

Reasons Why the Anabaptists Separate Themselves from Our Churches, Worship Services and Sermons[10]

The knowledge of and obedience to the will of God, that righteousness which springs from faith in Christ and also results in works[11] (Phil. 1, 3, Titus 3, Heb. 11, James 2) wish I, Martin Weninger, called Lingky, to all those who seek to worship God in the spirit, with their hearts in the truth, and to serve Him with words and works unto His praise in Christ, Amen (Col. 3, I Cor. 10).

I have been admonished by Brother Galle Hafner to prepare a vindication respecting the church attendance of the children of the world who walk in the uncleanness of impure lusts like other heathen (I Thes. 4, I Pet. 1 and 4). This I am inclined to do, to show to everyone who asketh the reason of the hope which is in me.

Christ commands us to guard ourselves from the mixed teaching of the Pharisees and the befuddled expositors who pose as teachers of the Scripture[12] but know not what they set forth or say (Matt. 16, I Tim. 1) and teach what is not profitable—just as the teaching of the priests does not profit—for base gain. Tit. 1: [They are] lazy bellies which may not produce works,[13] all with deceitful minds, just like our priests.[14] David says, They teach only sins, and glory in their pride and speak vain contradictions (Ps. 59), just as our priests also do now, teaching sins and hardening [people] in sins with their frivolous teaching, as it stands in Ezekiel 13 and Jeremiah 23. They minimize to the people the shadow of the wantonness of their life of sin (Jer. 8, 6, II Pet. 2), saying peace when there is no peace and promising freedom to those who ridicule[15] God with their doings and walk after the lust and desire of their evil heart (Jer. 23, II Pet. 2), and they themselves are servants of corruption and sin (Rom. 6, John 8). They are called the Christians, even pious Christians and Brethren, who walk in darkness and have no fellowship with the light of Christ (I John 1), and whom the apostle of God calls children of the devil, as he says: He who does the right is of God and has the new birth of the Spirit, but he who does not do the right, but commits sin, is of the devil and not of God, because sin is also not of God. He has never known God and will also not see Him (I John 2, 3, 5 and III John 1). He who trans-

[10] The "our" of the subtitle would suggest that the subtitle was perhaps added by a Reformed scholar, perhaps a contemporary of Weninger.

[11] " . . . der gerechtigkeit, die uss dem glouben Christi kumpt und mitwürckt an wercken." The Swiss Brethren placed emphasis on the absolute necessity of having a faith which issued in newness of life.

[12] " . . . vor der vermischten leer der Phariseer und Schrifftverkeerten, die der Schrifft wend Meister sin . . . ." *Schrifftverkeerten* is of course written in derision for *Schriftgelehrten*. The Swiss Brethren frequently called the leaders of the Protestant Reformation "scribes" because they used their learning to defend and maintain extra-Biblical doctrines and practices such as infant baptism.

[13] "Ful büch, die nit werchen mögend . . . ." The first two words are Swiss German for *faule Bäuche*.

[14] Weninger refers regularly to the Zwinglian clergy as priests.

[15] "tratzend." Tratzen is middle high German for verspotten (Zieglschmid).

gresses the teaching of Christ has no God (II John 1), and all his piety will no longer have any significance (Ezek. 18, 33, James 2).

By such evident witness it is now clear that the doctrine of the priests is not of God, and that it does not correspond with the doctrine of Christ and the apostles. Furthermore it is no wonder that such false apostles and deceptive workers pose as apostles of Christ, because the god and prince of this world himself (II Cor. 4, John 12, 14, Eph. 2), the devil, poses as an angel of light. It is no wonder that his servants also, who draw the wanton people to themselves (II Pet. 2, Jer. 23) and harden them in sin so that they so much the less repent (Ezek. 13) and live, pose as preachers of light, whose end will be according to their works (II Cor. 11).

Now when such hirelings, shepherds who have bargained for a definite wage,[16] see the wolf coming they flee and do not lay down their lives for the sake of the sheep (John 10). Such shepherds the little sheep of Christ will not hear. But the foolishness of such shepherds who are come as from Christ whether [or not] He sent them, will be manifested to many people in the Free Territories [of Aargau], moved as they are by a seditious, blood-thirsty spirit which brought destruction in the rebellion of Korah, etc.[17] Also many Zwinglian priests have turned back[18] to the pope in Turgau,[19] disregarding how it went with those for whom they had promised to stake their lives, and having been found to be liars (Apoc. 2). He who had not wished to recognize this must now see that it is true.

They[20] teach contrary to Paul (Rom. 6) that one cannot be free of sin and live in righteousness: "One must sin to the grave; no one can keep the commandments of God" (I John 3, 5) which is not true. The apostle of God testifies, Christ bore our sins on His back that we might be without sin and live in righteousness. How can the priests dare to say that no one can do the right and not live without sin? (John 1, I Pet. 2, 3): Christ took away our sin and undid the work of the devil. The work of the devil which Christ undid was sin, the sin of death, the death of damnation: as Paul testifies in Hebrews 2 that Christ took away the power of the devil, who had the power of eternal death, so that He might deliver us who all our life had been in fear of death and in bondage to slavery, that is, sin:[21] as it stands in Titus 2: He delivered us from all kinds of unrighteousness. How would He have delivered us from the power and imprisonment of the devil if we lived in sin to the devil and had not received power, grace for grace, to oppose the devil by the firm faith of Christ? We who seek to be

16 "Wenn nun sölich jarlöner und gedingt hirten umb bestimpten lon. . . ." The Swiss Brethren objected to a salaried ministry although they believed in rendering financial assistance to their pastors. Cf. Article V. of the Schleitheim Confession of Faith of 1527. The Mennonite Quarterly Review (October, 1945), 19:250.

17 The sense of this sentence is somewhat obscure: "Wie dann die Torheit sölcher Hirten an vilen, die von Christo komen sind, ob er sy gsandt hat, offenbar ist worden in fryen Emteren, die von dem uffrürischen, blutdurstigen geist komen sind, der in der uffrur Cora ummkon ist, etc." On the expression *Freiamt* and *Freiämter* see the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon. Wörtenbuch der Schweizerischen Sprache. . . .* Friedrich Staub und Ludwig Tobler. Erster Band. (Frauenfeld, 1881), 243, 244. The terms seem to have signified a geographical locality in Aargau, as I indicated in the text, in brackets.

18 "gewichen," evidently in the sense of apostasy to Roman Catholicism.

19 Dr. C. A. Bächtold, city librarian of Schaffhausen, who in 1912 had sent John Horsch a handwritten copy of our document, wrote in the margin at this point: *Laut. Aargau.*

20 The clergy of the state church.

21 ". . . dem knecht, das ist der sünd, verpflicht warend. . . ."

justified through Him, if we yet lived in sin,[22] what would we have from Christ? (Gal. 2) For He broke the bond and led captivity captive and gave gifts to the people, and we are released (Psalm 124, II Tim. 2, Eph. 4). Sinners will not stand in the judgment of God nor remain in the congregation of the righteous (Psalm 1, 5). Sinners will be destroyed with one another and be wiped out (Psalm 37, I Cor. 6, II Pet. 2, Matt. 7, 13, Luke 13).

Therefore beware[23] of the fickle man and the sinner who walks in two streets (Eccl. 2, Luke 16), and beware of him who is bound by and entangled in sin, for at the last he will be taken and burned in the fire (IV Esdr. 16,[24] John 15). Now observe how the poor priests weaken the passion of Christ and employ it for lasciviousness[25] and a cloak of wickedness (I Pet. 2, Jude 1). Peter says: As those who are free and yet not using the freedom for evil. As also Paul admonishes (Gal. 5): Stand fast in your freedom and cast it not from you for its reward is great (Heb. 10). As Jesus Christ has set you free do not allow yourselves to be joined to the servile yoke. For where the Spirit of Christ is there is freedom, and the body is dead for the sake of sin (Rom. 8, II Cor. 3). He who hath not the Spirit is not of Christ (Rom. 8). For those who are Christ's have crucified their flesh and destroyed their evil desires by desisting from the lusts of error[26] (Gal. 5, Eph. 4). Therefore as the kingdom of Christ is internal (Luke 17), firmly within us, we have grace to do God's will and service, and to please Him with discipline and fear (Heb. 12, Ezek. 36, I John 5). Since therefore we are under grace sin cannot reign in our mortal body (Rom. 6). For this reason did Christ die for all, that all who live should not live unto themselves, nor in their lusts, but unto Him who died for us and rose [from the dead] (I Cor. 6, II Cor. 5, I Thes. 5). We do not shun[27] the light. For whoever is of God hears God's Word (John 8, 18, I John 4). The priests wander and are not in the light for their works are evil (John 3, 7, 8). For there is no darkness in the light (II Cor. 6). It also has no fellowship with the darkness. Those who teach others and do it not themselves, from them the wrath of God will not long be withheld[28] (Rom. 2, Matt. 7, Luke 6, Psalm 50). "Lord, we have preached . . . ." But He will profess to them: "I know you not. Ye have done evil (Matt. 7). Depart from me." Christ calls those His brethren who hear God's Word and do the will of His Father.

Dear one,[29] How many are now Christ's brethren who do God's will? Therefore your fellowship[30] is not a brotherhood[31] of Christ. For you

22 ". . . und noch in sünden erfunden wurden."

23 A free translation: ". . . *wer dem . . . , wer dem . . .*." It is probable that the author means *Wehr* although he could intend *Weh.*

24 This book and chapter are also cited in the Swiss Brethren tract on divorce. THE MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW (April, 1947), 21:118.

25 "geilheit."

26 The German is difficult to render: ". . . Habend ir fleisch gekrützget und zerstört durch abbruch der lüsten des irthumbs von den bösen begirden. . . ."

27 The original reads: "Wir schühend das liecht nit." I was not able to identify with certainty the verb which is here used. Might it be *scheuen*?

28 ". . . über die ist die straff Gottes von langem mit sümig."

29 Weninger here addresses a state church clergyman, perhaps the Galle Hafner referred to in the beginning of his *Vindication.*

30 "gemeinschaft."

31 "bruderschafft."

have as brethren: adulterers, heavy-drinkers,[32] blasphemers, misers,[33] usurers, dancers, carnival [masqueraders],[34] alley ruffians:[35] without a ban to make any difference, whether a person do evil or good. Dear one, Why? For this reason, that the priests who ought to discipline the people are themselves just like the people (Hosea 4). Therefore Paul teaches and admonishes us to keep clear[36] of such people (II Tim. 2). For we may not be in the devil's fellowship (I Cor. 10). The devil has fellowship with those who obey him in sin. But from those who withstand him he flees (James 4, I Pet. 5). David says, I dwell not with the wanton people, and have not fellowship with the hypocrites, and hate the assembly of the wicked (Psalm 26).

Now since they do not preach the doctrine of Christ, and consent not to the saving[37] words of the doctrine of godliness, Paul teaches us to shun them[38] (I Tim. 6, Rom. 16). For they could pervert the faith of many, like Philetus and Hymenaeus, of whom Paul teaches us to keep clear (II Tim. 2). He who brings not the doctrine of Christ, receive him not into your house and greet him not (II John 1). He who greets him has fellowship with his evil works. How should I follow him into a temple or to other places? If he would follow me, I should have nothing to do with him so as not to have part in his evil works.[39] A teacher [minister] shall be an example of the flock in love, faith, purity and good works, and care for the sheep[40] (John 10, I Tim. 4, 3, II Tim. 1, Tit. 2, I Pet. 5, Matt. 5). This is completely lacking among them, as the Scripture testifies. Who would regard those as God's apostles who lack the witness of an apostle? Now it is evident that the priests have neither the doctrine nor manner of life[41] of apostles; yet they say they are apostles and that the Lord is among them.

They call the Gospel a burden which no one can keep, contrary to the word of Jeremiah 23: Thou shalt not call my Word a burden. For Christ says (Matt. 11): My yoke is sweet; my burden light. John testifies, His commandments are not severe[42] (I Ep. 5). And we keep His commandments, and do what is pleasing before Him (I John 3). It is He who hath made us acceptable,[43] and worketh in us both to will and to accomplish [it] (II Cor. 5, 3, Phil. 2, Ezek. 36). He hath created and prepared us unto good [works] that we should walk therein (Eph. 2). Therefore the might and all the glory belong to God alone (II Cor. 4, Dan. 9). Christ teaches that we should guard ourselves from those of this world who lead astray, for if it were possible they would lead astray even the elect (Matt. 24, II Pet. 3). Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, not from men nor through men but sent of God alone (Gal. 1). The rulers of the world have chosen the

32 "suffer" (Säufer).

33 "gytigen." *Gitig* is Swiss for *geizig*. *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, Zweiter Band (Frauenfeld, 1885), 506.

34 "fassnächter."

35 "gassenschreyer."

36 "reinigind."

37 "heilsamen worten." See footnote 46, below.

38 ". . . dass wir sie mydend." Cf. Article IV of the Schleitheim Confession, 1527, on "Separation." The Mennonite Quarterly Review (October, 1945), 19:249f.

39 This and the previous sentence are one sentence in the German original.

40 ". . . und vorn schaaffen hargon."

41 ". . . weder die leer noch wandel. . . ."

42 ". . . seine gebott sind nit schwär. . . ."

43 "gschickt."

priests and commissioned them for a specified wage.[44] Therefore it is of the world, and the [world] heareth them (I John 4). Thereby is fulfilled that which Paul prophesied (II Tim. 4): They will choose teachers for themselves who will tickle[45] their ears, and [they will] not hear the truth, the saving doctrine[46] of Christ, as also now the sect of the Nazarenes is everywhere spoken against (Acts 24, 28). John says, He who saith that he hath fellowship with Christ, and walketh in darkness, that is, in sin (Eph. 5), doth lie and speaketh not the truth. Therefore the priests tickle their ears with lies, in that they attribute to them the name and fellowship of Christ while they nevertheless still walk in darkness. And Paul testifies that He is become the Cause of salvation for those who obey His will in His death or suffering (Heb. 5, I Thes. 5).

Those who hold fast to the beginning of the nature of Christ[47] (as He then has imparted His nature in those things, for those who are God's, from youth to the end of life), [it is] they [who] partake of Christ (Heb. 3). Therefore Christ says, He that endureth unto the end (Matt. 10) shall be saved. But not by doing wrong, but by doing right, as it stands in Ezekiel 18. But those who persevere in wrongdoing until the end Christ calls false Christians and false apostles who lead many astray (Matt. 24). As Paul also testifies: Evil men and those who lead [men] astray shall wax worse and worse, leading astray and allowing themselves to be led astray (II Tim. 3). It is true that they say they know God,[48] and [yet] they are disobedient and an abomination before God and unfitted for all good works (Tit. 1, I John 1, 2). These are they who love the sensual pleasures of temporal life more than God, and have no love for the good, and have the appearance of a godly manner of life but deny its power (II Tim. 3). Paul admonishes us to turn away from such a spurious faith.[49] Concerning separation read II Corinthians 6, Apocalypse 18, Acts 19, Ephesians 5, II Timothy 2, I Peter 4, John 15. One is to separate oneself from their evil works, and not from the world, in so far as one may keep oneself unspotted from them (I Cor. 5, James 1, II Pet. 1, 4, Eph. 4). The preaching of the priests is also an unfruitful work, when they give testimony from the pulpit; [their] preaching does not help; people are getting worse and worse; no one is improving. And the testimony is true, also of the priests, that the wrong is getting the upper hand (Matt. 24). As the Lord said of the time of Lot and of Noah, so it is in [our] country; let Him come when He will.

Now you have testimony that the priests, and Christ and His apostles, do not have one doctrine. For the priests speak vain contradictions, as has been noted and proved sufficiently on the basis of the truth. Paul teaches us to judge spiritual things spiritually and not according to appearances (I Cor. 2), and not like the Jews did (John 7). He who lives carnally and is carnal-minded can neither perceive God's ways nor the

[44] "Die Weltregendten hand [haben] die Pfaffen erwelt und gsandt umm bestimpten lon." Cf. footnote 16 above.

[45] "juckind" (*jucken*).

[46] "die heilsam leer Christi." The English Bible (A.V.) employs the term "sound" for the Greek *hugiainouses*, while the Luther Bible reads *heilsam* (II Tim. 4:3, Titus 2:1). Büchner's *Hand-Concordanz* defines *heilsam* as, "Was Heil, Nutzen, etc., bringt." For that reason I have translated it "saving," although "sound" would be a better rendering of the Greek.

[47] "Die den anfang des wesens Christi . . . festhalt . . . ."

[48] "Sy sagend wol, sy erkennind Gott. . . ."

[49] ". . . dass man sich von sölichen gferbtem glouben thüge."

things of the Spirit.[50] To him it is foolishness and a conundrum[51] for he cannot know it, for it must be judged spiritually. Therefore everyone is lying [when he says] that he does not wish to judge, that it is not given to him; it is blasphemy (I Pet. 2) [when he says] that he does not recognize [the truth]—he is passing judgment on himself, receiving the reward of unrighteousness.[52]

If it [Anabaptism] is of God no man can withstand it. But if it is not of God it will disappear of itself (Acts 5, Matt. 15). Those of Zurich [53] did not wish to be lords; and if it should cost them their land, it must be dug out by the roots. Basle, too. Behold, it is getting green again in their land first. Psalm 124: If the Lord were not with us they would have swallowed us up alive; our bones would be no more. Our shield and protector is God. Through the faith and patience of Christ we overcome our enemies, following the example of Christ. All glory and honor be to God alone in His church in Christ Jesus.

God's Seal: II Timothy 2[:19]
The right done from the fear of God is acceptable to God[54]
Acts 10, etc.

[50] ". . . mag die hendel Gottes nit vernäm, noch nüt, das vom Geist ist."

[51] "kopffschüttlen."

[52] "Darum lug ein jetlicher, dass er nit welle richten, das im nit gen ist, und verlestery, I Petr. 2, das er nit erkendt, zu sinem eignen urteil, und den lohn der ungrechtigkeit davon bring."

[53] Weninger is perhaps referring to the nonresistant Swiss Brethren of the city where they originated. He goes on to lament their cruel persecution unto the death, harmless as they were.

[54] "Der recht thut uss forcht Gottes, ist Gott angenäm."

RESEARCH NOTES: A COMMUNICATION

January 3, 1948.

To the Editor
MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW:

I wrote to you on several occasions last year but Mr. Wenger, your associate at Goshen, wrote me that you were in Europe. More recently someone kindly sent me a reprint of your article, "The Anabaptist Vision," which I read with a great deal of interest.

I noted especially that you say the belief is generally being discarded that there was some direct connection between the Täufer of Switzerland and the Waldenses. May I inquire if that broad statement also applies to the elaborate theory of Dr. Ernest Mueller, and "Die Alt-Evangelische Gemeinde" of the Emmental? He lists some rather strong arguments in his history of the *Berner Täufer,* although I admit there is very little foundation in any existing records.

I am writing primarily to learn the address of Milton Gascho, who wrote the exceedingly interesting article on the Amish division that appeared in the 1937 MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW and also to learn if you have proceeded any further with your project for publication of the Palatinate Census data which has been printed serially in the REVIEW. My interest in both is primarily from a historical viewpoint, since both the Amish article and the census give an insight into Swiss Mennonite history which has not been published elsewhere.

I should also note that I take issue with a statement you made on page 72 of the REVIEW for January, 1937, where you say, "At about the same time [referring to the first settlement in this locality], nine Swiss families, with aged Bishop Hans Herr as their leader, found their way from bloody Bern . . . ." The identity of Hans Herr, an ancestor of mine, I think I fairly well established in "New Light on Hans Herr and Martin Kendig," published in 1934 in the proceedings of the Lancaster County Historical Society, and it can be proved beyond any doubt whatsoever that none of the 1710 immigrants came from Bern. Christian Lerch of the Staatsarkiv of Bern informed me that the family names of Herr, Meily, Kendig, and so forth are uncommon in the Emmental and more likely to be found in what he termed the Täufer corner of Zurich. I have been in correspondence with the Zurich Archive and have learned that all those family names are included in emigrants from that canton.

According to S. Geiser, *Die Taufgesinnten Gemeinden* (Karlsruhe, 1931) (starting page 377), between 1635 and 1660 all the Taufer left Zurich for the Palatinate. And in looking over your Census Lists, names of known Bern exiles are in a minority. In fact, I believe it is safe to say seventy-five per cent of the family names of those listed in the Census Lists—the same applies to the settlers in Lancaster County—came from Zurich, *not* Bern. Yet nowhere do I find that the research on this migration in any way equals that on Bern.

I cannot help reflect, too, what implications there are in this fact for the Amish split. I note Gascho remarks that the causes given for the split seem small in proportion to the bitterness that was evoked.

It has always been assumed that Jacob Amman came from that Oberland of Bern; why I do not know. Although I have never had an opportunity of studying the original letters on which Gascho based his article, it struck me that the most likely place would be Markirch in Alsace where

Amman is reported to have expelled a number of members even before placing the Swiss Mennonites under the ban. Later in Naftziger's list of congregations in 1781, there was an Amish church at Markirch.

Now it strikes me that we have only part of the developments in the letters that have come down to us. Could it have been something like this?

1. The ministers who in 1660 adopted the Dortrecht Confession at Strasburg in Alsace represented congregations already established there, some of them descendants of much earlier Anabaptists, others accretions from the early exiles from Bern and Zurich, who likely were in a minority.

2. The Pfalz, when it was thrown open to settlement in 1664, was largely settled by Mennonites from Zurich, who did not accept the ban in its strict form. Note that Martin Meili and Rudolph Nägli were two of those opposing the ban and citing the old teachings as their reason.

3. In none of the joint letters signed by Swiss and German preachers do there appear any ministers from Alsace, although there is no reason to believe that all congregations had been eliminated from the region between 1660 and 1697, despite the persecution of the French.

4. Amman traveled through Switzerland trying to gain adherents to his cause or rather that of the churches in Alsace; perhaps, he was commissioned for that purpose. In some places, he won converts; in others, he did not.

The place where the original split appears to have taken place, or at least to have reached a crisis, was in the hilly region bounding two important roads from the Emme to the Aare. The upper road between Biglen and Gr. Hochstetten on the west and Signau and Langnau on the east is a stone's throw from "Ruetenen" where Peter Geiger lived and where the ministers met in a barn. North of here, in the same general hills, is the Oberthal (with Ruetigraben in its center) where Hans Reist resided. To the east is Bowil, home of Niklaus Moser. All three of these men were excommunicated by Amman. Habstetten, in the same vicinity, was the home of Niklaus Baltzly.

The other road, a few kilometers to the south, links Ober-Diessbach on the west with Eggiwil on the east, via Rothenbach through the valley lying between the Kurzenberg and the Buchholternberg. Southwest of the Buchholternberg in the Aare valley is Steffisburg, and west of it Kiesen and Wichtrach.

In olden times, near Rothenbach was a chapel at Wuerzbrunnen, which apparently stemmed back to heathen times. The spring was believed to have healing powers and pilgrims would come from afar for treatment at the curative waters. It was under the special care of a monastery at Rueggisberg, west of the Aare, but before the Reformation complaints were frequent that the abbots failed to keep the chapel regularly supplied with priests so that it was necessary for the shepherd families of the district to go to neighboring parishes for priests at the time of births, marriages, and deaths. On one occasion they had permission from Bern to have a "Barfüsser" monk act in their behalf. Thus from antiquity the region seems to have had a special religious tinge without being rich enough to keep a regular parish priest. Near-by Eggiwil, a similar wooded region in the foothills of the Alps, has a similar history. In fact it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that a church was built and then because the "stark verbreitete Sekte der Widertaeufer gerade hier immer mehr an Boden gewann."

It will be noted that in all the conversations between Amman and the Swiss ministers in the Bowil-Hochstetten region, there is a constant

reservation on the part of the Swiss until the bishop, Bentz Schneider, is consulted. This indicates at least that the bishop held a certain authority.

Some light is thrown on this fact by earlier information on this region. In Geiser's history, in the chapter on the sixteenth century, there is a great deal of interesting information on Täufer put to torture in Bern starting in 1566. Time after time, the accused Täufer, man or woman, mentioned the name of Waelti Gerber, who lived near Rothenbach, but who preached from Sumiswald to Buchholternberg. Gerber is in the list of martyrs in the *Martyrs' Mirror,* although the date is in error. I might mention he also took part in the disputation at Bern in 1538 with Hans Hotz and the others.

After Gerber's death, his successor was Nickli Zedo, who apparently traveled back and forth from the Jura Mountains. Another teacher, whose name appears occasionally, was Gross Peter of Neuenstadt, described at another place as "welsch Petter von der Nuewenstadt." The name Zedo is obviously the German spelling of a French name and probably was something similar to Citeau. He was eventually arrested, sentenced to death, but escaped before he was executed in 1580. He was described as being short, with a pointed black beard and a lame hand. Here is a definite and very early link with the Jura which more than a century later became the refuge of many Täufer from this same region.

In 1571, when Zedo preached at Eggiwil, he was accompanied by a Hans, known as "ein Tuchliwaeber" who also preached. The next name we find in Eggiwil is that of Ulrich Mueller, who in 1627 was banished out of the land but apparently came back. While no name places are given, it is likely that Uli Zaugg, Uli Nuewhus, and Christian Stauffer, mentioned in 1644, all came from this locality. In 1654, it was Georg Liechti who was the "leerer" of the Täufer of Eggiwil, along with "Zangeren Hans, Hinten-Christen, Wolfgang uff dem Schweisberg, Uli Galdins Frau, Hinten-Michels Frau, Grosstannen-Michel and Uli zu Ringisbach, called "ein Leerer auss Signau Ampt." Less than twenty years later, the hostage system was put in effect in Eggiwil and scores of all ages were driven from the district. It is interesting to note in passing that Uli Galli auf Gibel of Eggiwil was a peasant leader in the 1653 Bauernkrieg. This was the husband of the woman listed above as "Uli Galdins Frau." Another leader probably in this same district was Hans Burkhalter, who in 1669 escaped from prison in Bern, along with Christian Guengerich.

Turning to the list of refugees compiled in 1672 in the Pfalz, we find "Jorge Liechti" signing a letter as an "Aeltesten." He was fifty-nine years old and single. There is also a "Hans Borcholter," sixty-five years, his wife and seven children. Also a "Chr. Stauffert" who was over ninety years of age. Many of the other family names can be identified from this same locality.

Coming down to the eighteenth century, the list of prisoners in Bern included Christian Kraeyenbuehl from Horben; Peter Thoenen from Reutigen (mentioned in the letters on the Amish dispute as the home of Reist); Jacob Neuenschwander of Stocken, etc. Even Bendicht Brechbuehl, listed as of Traxelwald, actually was arrested at his small farm at Aeschau near Eggiwil, where he had resided since about 1689. He was born in what was known as the Duerrgraben, a "viertel" of the parish of Trachselwald at a hof known as "Krummholz" where the "Bauernhaus" still stands. He had been married ten years earlier than 1709, the year of his arrest, to a Mennonite after the Mennonite manner. Her name is believed to be Magdalena or Madlena Mueller, not Maria Herr as the Hans Herr history and those who have copied it state without any foundation whatsoever.

As a result of his arrest, a neighbor, Hans Haldiman, and his brother, Christen Brechbuehl, neither of whom were Mennonites, were exiled for aiding him.

It was about Brechbuehl that "Aeltesten Niklaus Moser," the same man with whom Amman had clashed, wrote "die Obrigkeit hat die Profosen aus gesandt, um alle Hauser zu durchsuchen, auch wo keine Täufer gewohnt haben, und haben mit ihren Degen in die Heustoecke gestochen und einen Dienen der Gemeinden getroffen, der sich darin verborgen hatte, so dass er vervorkommen musste mit noch gefangenen mit noch einigen Manns—und Weibspersonen. . . ." Moser later was imprisoned himself with Brechbuehl and the others and there died. Subsequently we find Brechbuehl referred to as an "Aeltesten" and we can only wonder if the selection and confirmation took place in the "Insel" at Bern. It would be interesting to know if Moser held the succession from Waelti Gerber and Nicklaus Zedo, and later Bentz Schneider, bishop at the time Amman visited this locality.

Mueller tells us that Brechbuehl was the bishop at Mannheim, but I believe he has misread the records on this. No doubt after he left Switzerland he was replaced, for in 1711, according to reports on efforts to get the so-called Reistens to migrate with the Amish, Runckel, the Dutch envoy, reported the "Aeltesten" was Peter Habegger, the same man visited by Amman near Eggiwil in 1693 or thereabouts. Habegger, however, came from east of the Emme or rather its branch, the Ilfis.

In connection with Brechbuehl's arrest in January, 1709 (old style), it might be interesting to note the following passage in an article on "Eggiwil" printed in the 1932-Alpenhorn Kalendar, published at Langnau, Switzerland. The author is Christian Rudi. The quotation follows:

> Im Jahre 1709 beherbergte Johann Jakob Freudenreich, seit 1696 Pfarrer in Eggiwil, eine Anzahl Profosen, die sich zur Behendigung der landesschaedlichen Teufferen' in de Gemeinde begeben hatten. Da zogen naechtlicher-weile eine Anzahl Gemeinde genossen mit Glocken und Hunden vor das Pfrundhaus: eine richtige "Treichlete." Wie sehr man ueber den Pfarrer erbittert war, beweist der Schuss, der auf das Pfarrhaus abgebrannt wurde und ein Fenster zerschmetterte. Trotzdem die Regierung 50 Taler Belohnung aussetzte, wurde der Taeter nicht angegeben.

Of course this all happened years after the Amish split, but it is traditional in the same neighborhood yet today that the farmhouses had hidden chambers in which "Täufer" were hidden from the authorities and it is well known that horns were blown and bells were rung to warn of the approach of constables bent on capturing well-known Täufer leaders. And these things were done at considerable personal risk by so-called non-Täufer. The state church pastors also continually complained that the people of their parishes held the Täufer "Lehrer" in higher repute than themselves because of the outstanding moral lives these men lived. They were a sort of local saints in the eyes of the country people and were protected as such.

To suddenly invoke a church rule that good "Täufer" could have no intercourse with such people, could not eat or otherwise have personal dealings with them, must have been unthinkable to the Täufer leaders who time and time again had been the beneficiaries of all sorts of unnamed aid from these same people. Quite a few of them were their own relatives and one needs only to examine the list of emigres in 1671 and again in 1711 given by Mueller to learn the large proportion of married couples where one or the other of the spouses was a member of the state or Reformed Church. I can easily see how the strict interpretation of "meidung" would give the Emmental Mennonites pause.

Being unaware how complete Mueller's survey of the existing records on Mennonite persecutions is, there is one point which I can only surmise. And that is that the "Täufer" of the so-called Oberland areas of Bern escaped the heavy persecutions meted out by the government in the Emmental. Examining the names and places given by Mueller, you find no mention whatsoever of the Simmental and adjoining valleys until the migration of 1711. Nowhere do you find the name of anyone from these valleys in prison in Bern before 1710.

Knowing governments from personal contact as a newspaper reporter and from the study of history, I know that no matter how many laws and how many mandates and orders are issued, the executive branch of the government is slow to move until its own position is challenged and then it does so with remarkable speed. In other words, it is doubtful that the Bern government—no matter how bitterly it opposed "Täufertum" in principle—ever seriously tried to enforce its mandates against it until the evangelistic fervor of its leaders or "Lehrer" caused an appreciable increase in numbers. And we find the government itself saying on numerous occasions, that there was frequent "looking through the fingers" at the activities of Mennonites in some areas. Long periods would pass without any but occasional persecution and then it would break forth strong with particular emphasis in one locality or another. If a cause were to be sought and could be found, I am sure it would be the evangelical fervor of some particular type of leader—for example, Brechbuehl was called on several occasions an "arch-seducer," as were other Mennonite leaders.

But it can be asked, how much evangelism can anyone evoke who is first thinking in terms of "Meidung"? I can hardly call myself an authority on the Amish and I wish I knew much more than I do about them; but what I do know has always led to the belief that they keep strictly to themselves. Of course I am thinking of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where I was reared, and of impressions from my parents who lived in the country among the Amish. Of Mennonite families themselves, there was no playing together, no visiting, no friendships developed with Amish children even in the same schoolhouse.

If I have interpreted this trend correctly, I can see strong grounds for a split which of course does not excuse it or its participants.

Hoping I have not overtaxed your patience in writing such a long, and at times, much involved, letter, may I be

Respectfully yours,
Martin H. Brackbill,
702 Fourth Street,
New Cumberland, Pennsylvania.

BOOK REVIEWS

Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder. Herausgegeben von A. J. F. Zieglschmid, Northwestern-Universität. Philadelphia: The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1947. Pp. xxxii, xliii, 781.

The story of the Hutterites is amazing and unique; more than four hundred years of almost uninterrupted living in community, trekking from country to country for conscience' sake, yet unbroken and loyal to the faith of their forefathers in spite of tremendous temptations of a most unchristian world all around. It is truly a story of loyalty, devotion, suffering, and, in the last analysis, victory over the adversities of such a challenge. It is a grand object lesson in brotherly living and Christian discipleship. The main chapters of this story are not unknown. The so-called Greater Chronicle (*Gross-Geschichtbuch*) has been published three times, 1883, 1923, and 1943, this edition being prepared by the professor of German language at Northwestern University, Dr. A. J. F. Zieglschmid.[1] This *Geschichtbuch,* rather famous among students of Anabaptism, was copied from an original manuscript book in the possession of the brotherhood in South Dakota, a precious legacy of the forefathers, salvaged by a sheer miraculous turn of events. It begins with the earliest happenings since 1519 and ends with the rather sad account of the decline of the community in Hungary (Slovakia) around 1665, when wars and destitution had nearly broken the spirit of the brotherhood. The main emphasis of this volume rests to a great extent on the idea of martyrdom and "the suffering church," and a large part of the text is devoted to epistles of brethren in need and agony as well as to the teachings of the leaders concerning the fundamentals of their life and creed.

Not very much has been known about the later story of the Hutterite Brethren after 1665. That the Brethren possessed another write-up, the so-called Smaller Chronicle (*Klein-Geschichtsbuch*) reaching as far as 1802, was known; but thus far nobody had seen the original manuscript (preserved in one of the South Dakota Bruderhöfe), and only scant high lights of this important source had been made public.[2] It was said that this other Chronicle represents historiography in the best sense of the word, executed by a man with a genuine gift for telling stories and drawing the main lines of the events. His name is Johannes Waldner (1749-1824), and he belonged to those Carinthian Protestants who around 1760 had joined the well night defunct Hutterite brotherhood in Transylvania and restored it to new life.

While working on his edition of the Greater Chronicle, Zieglschmid saw this unusual document (a handwritten, bulky volume) on the South Dakota Bruderhof, and decided to produce an edition of this as a sequel to the *Gross-Geschichtbuch.* Both volumes are designed for the use of scholars and as a household book for the brethren wherein they may learn their great background and the principles of their living. With untiring zeal Zieglschmid copied the manuscript and made it ready for print. This time the edition was not made "letter-perfect" as was the case with the earlier publication; instead it was made up in an easily readable German which nevertheless preserves the flavor of the dialect of an earlier century

[1] A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Die Älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder,* The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Philadelphia, 1943. See also the review of the present writer in MENN. QUART. REV. (January, 1944), 18:59-63).

[2] Cf. Johann Loserth, "The Decline and Revival of the Hutterites," MENN. QUART. REV. (April, 1930), 4:93-112).

and a local group. More and more supplementary material was discovered and added, and the narrative was continued up to 1947, collected from a great number of sources. Thus a splendid new book was produced, another Hutterite chronicle, unique in more than one sense. The *Klein-Geschichtsbuch* is stimulating reading, keeping the reader for the most part in its grip, being so human and yet filled with things spiritual.

Johannes Waldner began his writing in 1793 and closed it in 1802. He had decided to include also the entire earlier history, and therefore begin with a skillfully condensed account of the story as told in the Greater Chronicle. Many readers will welcome this part (193 pages) which is so much easier to read than the original itself, its narrative running uninterruptedly and told in a captivating manner. Yet one soon notices a rather marked difference between the older and the newer chronicle, namely, a shift in interest and emphasis. Waldner writes in the peaceful times of the first Russian settlement of the Brethren around 1800. He is no longer so much concerned with the idea of the "suffering church" as were his forerunners, the writers of the *Gross-Geschichtbuch;* accordingly, he omits altogether the many fine epistles of martyrs and witnesses of God which had adorned the first volume. Likewise he leaves out nearly all doctrinal statements, the *Verantwortungen* (accounts of one's faith), and similar documents.[3] On the other hand, he is most concerned with the loyal and nearly meticulous keeping of the old institutions, orders, regulations, and the general spirit of the community. Hence he stresses tradition and organization and never tires reminding his brethren of what the fathers had done in this regard. His greatest concern, however, is for the spiritual foundations upon which this brotherhood rests: the *Gemeinschaft, -das höchste Gebot der Liebe,* as one earlier bishop once called it (community of goods as the expression of brotherly love and togetherness), *Gelassenheit* (a dispassionate detachment regarding worldly possessions—also translated as conquest of one's self), and above all *Einigkeit des Geistes* (unanimity of the spirit, or harmony of the mind. Pp. 299, 331). To these principles everyone had voluntarily bound himself in the hour of solemn baptism which the brethren interpret as "the covenant of a good conscience with God" (I Peter 3:21).

This shift in emphasis becomes still more noticeable in the second part of Waldner's Chronicle where he is now on completely untrodden ground. The time between 1665 (the terminal date of the *Gross-Geschichtbuch*) and 1767 (the nearly complete collapse of the brotherhood in Hungary and Transylvania) contains a wealth of fine new material, largely collected from the memories of older brethren. A large section (Pp. 204-221) presents a real surprise: excerpts from (written) sermons of Hutterite ministers of the time 1650-1660. The existence of such sermon collections was completely unknown heretofore, and their publication is definitely an enrichment of our knowledge of the thinking and practice (of obedience to God's Word) among the Hutterites. They do not preach extemporaneously but read their sermons, and it may be surmised that little has changed during the centuries in this regard. Thus this section is highly representative for the Hutterite mind and deserves careful study. The main theme of these sermons is exhortation and admonition to keep the old orders of the beginnings, and with them a strict, even rigid morality. They intend to give the members a guide for the inner as well as the external life; they are designed to strengthen the spirit of the group along conservative lines

[3] The only exception to this principle is a very stimulating controversy with the Schwenckfeldians, reported for the year 1543, concerning the incarnation of Christ (Pp. 56-57).

and to prevent the downfall of the good old mores and the high principles for which an earlier century had seen so much suffering. One can almost feel how much Waldner was concerned with this stemming of the ongoing process of dissolution (*Verfliessen* is Waldner's term) of the old orders, and with them of the entire brotherhood life. He understands the deeper meaning of this particular life and he suffers that so many do not care any longer for its merits. He says clearly in several places (Pp. xxxvii, 377, etc.) that it was this concern which prompted him to write the book. The Brethren should know something about the life of the fathers and of the blessings to be found in a life separated from the pagan world and collected by God to keep His Word clean and unspoiled. It pays to be obedient, that is, to walk the narrow path. Waldner hardly ever uses theological language, and very seldom speaks of "salvation of the soul." His vision is of a different kind: to be a disciple of Christ, to be obedient to God's commandments, that is the necessary and distinguishing quality of a member of this brotherhood.

The third part of the Chronicle contains Waldner's own memoirs (*Denkwürdigkeiten*), beginning with the story of the Lutherans in Carinthia (sometimes called cryto-Protestants) and their hardships. He tells us why they had to migrate to Transylvania in 1755, and how they chanced to meet there the last poor remnants of the old Hutterite brotherhood which had dwindled down to a few families. A few men, however, were still loyal and to them these newcomers listened, and from them they received some old handwritten books. Eventually they decided to join this group and to accept their way of life. When, in 1763, these Carinthian brethren began for the first time "to keep the Christian order," that is, community of goods (P. 284), Johannes Waldner was a boy about fourteen years of age. It was a small beginning, with but thirteen individuals accepting Christian baptism. And yet, it was a heroic decision against sheer overwhelming odds. New suffering and near martyrdom set in; yet their faith won out and the group was not destroyed as their opponents intended.

What now follows is nearly an Odyssey, particularly during those few years in Rumania, when the small flock was ground between the lines of a savage Russian-Turkish war. Waldner expressly confirms that he was personally in the middle of these troubles. "Ich habe es mit Augen angesehen und habe zum Teil auch mitgelitten" (P. 314). Eventually they found a place of refuge far away, on the estate of a Russian general in the Ukraine, and a breathing spell permitted the building up of a new orderly Bruderhof life. The Brethren commanded the admiration of all Russians low and high who came into contact with them. More brethren from the old Hungarian colonies joined them, since even in the "age of toleration and enlightenment" of Emperor Joseph II freedom of conscience was by no means granted to these champions of a voluntary church. Dissensions and conflicts arose, however, almost inevitably, within these otherwise so thriving colonies. It is to Waldner's great credit that he does not pass over such unpleasant affairs. Frank, unafraid and stern, as a real leader, he reports the facts as they happened. "I would rather have liked to pass over these quarrels," he writes in a characteristic passage (P. 348), "but my heart and conscience have compelled me to write it down, even against my intention. But I wanted to tell you all the truth in this story and to suppress nothing . . . that it may serve you as a warning."

In 1802, under the impact of new oppressive conditions, the brethren changed their domicile again and now became tenants on tsaristic crownlands. It is at this point that Waldner lays down his pen; his report stops

suddenly, as though he had planned to continue but felt unable to do so (P. 402). Internal disunion with regard to the question of community of goods versus private property again disrupted the peaceful work of the colony. When Waldner died in 1824, at the age of seventy-five years, prospects were rather gloomy. The question of community of goods was not settled, and the reader feels the painful lack of a strong leader-personality.

The original manuscript of the Chronicle contains very little by way of continuation, just a few more pages of facts. Upon request of the Hutterian Brethren, Professor Zieglschmid accepted the not easy task of completing the story from 1802 to 1947 by piecing together all available source material, printed and otherwise. It is a fine achievement, a work of solid scholarship and devotion to the cause (Pp. 407-500). The fourth part (1802-1874) completes the story of the Brethren in Russia to the time of their emigration to America. During this time Johann Cornies, the outstanding Mennonite leader and agronomist of the Molotschna settlement, proved to be the most reliable friend and helper of the Brethren who now started new settlements in this same region (Southern Ukraine or Taurien). Cornies not only helped in things economic; his imposing personality also achieved healthy internal reforms, mainly with regard to the quaint Hutterite custome of selecting marriage partners (p. 437).

The fifth and last part (1874-1947) describes the exodus of the Brethren to America and their settling down in South Dakota. Previously two brethren had spied out good land and decided upon this area which looked similar to that of the Russian plains; and it was John F. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, who had been most instrumental in this search for new land. About 18,000 Hutterites thus forsook the Russian steppe for the American prairie. Though one in background and order, they were no longer one in organization, but divided into three somewhat independent groups with rather loose contacts among each other. Most heart-rending is the experieince of the Brethren during the first World War when two young Hutterites had to die in military prison and two more went through unbelievable sufferings. Hereafter several colonies decided to emigrate to Canada hoping for a safer refuge. Even here, however, troubles arose. As official Canadian documents in the appendix show, the pursuit of the typical Hutterite way is dangerous even in 1947.[4]

Our book does not end, however, with this conclusion of the narrative proper. The appendix of 180 pages is not less interesting reading than the preceding 500 pages. For the first time we are able to study the full text of the *Gemeinde Ordnungen* (disciplines and regulations, also orders) from 1651 to 1873 (Pp. 517-568). These *Ordnungen* give us an insight hardly attainable otherwise, particularly valuable for the sociological study of a community life of this type. The regulation of the entire life of such colonies up to the very last detail is amazing, and raises quite a few questions as to the wisdom of such regimentation.[5] At one place a brother compared the brotherhood with a beehive, another with a beautifully working clock.[6]

[4] Fortunately a brief note in the *Christian Century* of April 28, 1948, indicates that reason has kept the upper hand in the legislature of Manitoba, and one may hope that the Brethren will carry on from now on undisturbedly.

[5] For instance, how many white rolls a woman in childbed should receive per day, or whether a walk down into the village is permissible or not, or regarding flowers on the window sill (which are frowned upon), etc.

[6] "We then organized everything as the lovely and beautiful work of community [of goods] requires which our ancestors had likened to a beehive" (p. 411). "Everything worked together so marvellously like the work of a clock" (p. 413).

The fact that the brotherhood survived all the vicissitudes of their history is rather strong argument against skeptics.

Another fine item of the appendix is the diary of the brother Paul Tschetter of 1873, during his trip from Russia to America to investigate conditions and opportunities for emigration. This diary had been previously published in an English translation in the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW,[7] but one welcomes now the original text which makes remarkable reading. A set of Canadian documents tells us of troubles in our own day, as hinted above. Nine pages are devoted to a description of the new Hutterite settlements in Paraguay and England (Eberhard Arnold people), for which one must be grateful, since so little is known about these people. Factual details and a general census conclude these miscellanies. The total population of the Bruderhöfe in the United States and Canada is given at 6,624 (1947); in Paraguay and England at 570, hence altogether 7,593 souls.

Finally Zieglschmid persents us with the most exhaustive biblography of the Hutterites and related topics which ever has come to our knowledge (pp. 687-706). It will become an invaluable tool for all future studies and research work, though a goodly number of titles may not be available in America. Likewise gratifying is the extensive glossary (pp. 709-740) of obsolete or hard to understand words. A rather complete index of names and places, plus a selection of subjects and four useful maps of the European and American scene of the story, conclude the volume. The scholarship and accuracy of Professor Zieglschmid's edition, the fullness of his notes and supplements, the fairness and sympathy of his judgments on all Hutterite matters, are most pleasant features of this new publication. Its technical production likewise deserves a word of commendation; paper, print, and binding are of the best quality.

A few words should also be said from a critical angle, particularly with regard to the language which Zieglschmid uses in his own narrative and which often does not harmonize with the general spirit of the book (e.g., on page 487). Likewise questionable is the telescoping of outside records into the text (particularly on pp. 402ff. and 413-421), making the reading discontinuous and somewhat confusing. But these are minor drawbacks and do not detract from the general enjoyment of this unique story of faith and loyalty. Let us rejoice that this book is now ours, so that we can study more fully the ways and problems (and also the shortcomings) of these people, and ponder more deeply meaning of Christian discipleship in all of its often strange facets.

Western Michigan College Robert Friedmann

[7] J. M. Hofer, "The Diary of Paul Tschetter, 1873," in MENN. QUART. REV., V, 1931, 112-127, 198-220.

The Influence of the Pennsylvania Dutch in the Middle West. By G. M. Ludwig. Allentown, Pennsylvania: Schlechters, 1947. In Volume Ten of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society. Pp. 101. $3.00.

Mr. Ludwig begins his book with this provocative paragraph:

> America contains two great English-speaking nations, Canada and the United States. The French made Canada great, and the United States was made great by the Pennsylvania Dutch. This statement is not intended as an exaggeration. If it appears so, it is only because we have been subjected for so long a time to a perverted history, that the real facts seem uncomfortable.

The next one hundred pages attempt to prove the truth of these opening statements. The author's evidence consists of the many Pennsylvania Dutch influences which he traces from east to west. These include family names, the use of Pennsylvania Dutch words and expressions, the prevalence of Pennsylvania Dutch character traits, the wide distribution of their churches, the almost universal use of certain implements, the architecture of the Middle West farms, the dinner bell, pale fences, and other physical contributions. A map shows the geographic extent of the Pennsylvania Dutch influence. It extends westward through Ohio, Indiana, southern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and then widens out to include most of the western half of the United States. That leaves New England and parts of the southern states to the English.

If the historians have presented a perverted picture of American history it may have been because until very recently their major emphasis has been on political history. English law, English political institutions, and English political concepts have been the most important in the shaping of American public life. Pennsylvania Dutch influence, on the other hand, has been exerted more largely in the area of economic and religious life, as Mr. Ludwig's illustrations prove. And even here it must be pointed out that the influence of the Methodist and Baptist churches, which is to a considerable extent an English one, has perhaps been greater in the Middle West than has been the influence of the Pennsylvania Dutch churches. Now that American history is being rewritten with a broader frame of reference than the political one, it is to be expected that the Pennsylvania Dutch will be receiving greater recognition. Ludwig's introductory study has opened a field of research which our students of social and economic history must explore more fully.

There is danger that Mennonites think of themselves as constituting the Pennsylvania Dutch groups in the United States. Although the author has much to say about the Mennonites because they have perhaps preserved in their most pure form the traits, folkways, and institutions of the Pennsylvania Dutch, he makes it clear that there are many others who have this same background. He states:

> And since there is every probability that soon the Evangelical Church and the United Brethren Church will unite, when once this union is consummated, then the new Evangelical United Brethren Church, representing almost 1,000,000 communicants, will certainly be America's Pennsylvania Dutch church.

Although the Mennonites who are Pennsylvania Dutch are a small minority compared to the above group, he does not minimize their contribution. He states:

> Fundamentally, persistently, perpetually, the Mennonites are religious-minded. Their deep religious background has made these people everlastingly jealous of their faith. Thousands in the past have died for their convictions. Often these people go counter to the world at large. What to most of us are opinions, to them become con-

victions. These convictions become sacred and their validity is never conditioned upon acceptance by the majority. . . . For these people their economic life springs right out of their religious life.

The author's large fund of information concerning the origins of plows, harnesses, dinner bells, and other implements of Pennsylvania Dutch origin impresses the reader. The book will make many aware of the historic significance of items that otherwise would find their way to the junk pile. The time has come to join Mr. Ludwig in his crusade for a Pennsylvania Dutch museum in the Middle West comparable to the Landis Valley museum in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Mennonite Research Foundation. Melvin Gingerich.